Tyvan (aka Tuvan/Tuvinian) is spoken by 150-200,000 people in the Republic of Tyva in south centra Siberia. Tyvan (along with the closely related Tofalar) stand out among the Turkic languages in several ways. Tyvan has three sets of phonemic vowels: plain, long, and creaky voice. Word-initially obstruents exhibit a contrast between unaspirated/aspirated or voiced/voiceless, depending on the speaker. There is also a phonemically marginal series of long nasalized vowels. Tyvan has only one inflectional series for verbs, prefering enclitic pronominals in most forms (in main clauses).

Large numbers of Mongolisms and Mongolian derivational affixes are found, the latter often appearing with Turkic roots. Russian loans are also numerous, and in the speech of certain younger residents of Kyzyl, contact-induced restructuring can be observed. This study is a description of present day Tyvan, particularly as used in the capital city of Kyzyl. This is the first field-based study of Tyvan available in English and the first description of Kyzyl Tyvan in any language.

ISBN 3 89586 529 X

LINCOM EUROPA
academic publishers

Anderson & Harrison : *Tyvan* LW/M 257

Tyvan

Gregory David Anderson
& K. David Harrison

Languages of the World/Materials **257**
LINCOM EUROPA

Tyvan

Gregory David Anderson
& K. David Harrison

***Languages of the World/Materials* 257**

1999
LINCOM EUROPA

Published by LINCOM EUROPA 1999.

All correspondence concerning *Languages of the World/Materials* should be addressed to:

LINCOM EUROPA
Paul-Preuss-Str. 25
D-80995 Muenchen

LINCOM.EUROPA@t-online.de
http://home.t-online.de/home/LINCOM.EUROPA

All rights reserved, including the rights of translation into any foreign language. No part of this book may be reproduced in any way without the permission of the publisher.

Printed in E.C.

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Anderson, Gregory David:
Tyvan / Gregory David Anderson & K. David Harrison. – München ;
Newcastle : LINCOM Europa, 1999
(Languages of the world : materials ; 257)
ISBN 3-89586-529-X

Printed on chlorine-free paper

Table of Contents

0 Introduction 1
1 Phonology 2
1.1 Vowels 2
1.1.1 Low Pitch Vowels 3
1.1.2 Nasal Vowels 4
1.1.3 Archiphonemes 4
1.1.4 Vowel Harmony 4
1.1.4.1 Back Harmony 5
1.1.4.2 Round Harmony 5
1.1.5 Epenthesis 6
1.2 Consonant Phonemes 6
1.2.1 Consonant Allophones 7
1.2.2 Initial Plosives and Aspiration 7
1.2.3 Consonant Phonotactics 7
1.2.4 Consonant Assimilation 8
1.2.5 Consonant Clusters 8
1.3 Morphophonological Processes 9
1.3.1 Velar Elision/Vowel Lengthening 9
1.3.2 Metathesis 9
1.4 Phonology of Russian Loans 10
1.5 Morphophonology of Reduplication 10
1.6 Syllable Structure 11
1.7 Suprasegmentals 11
2 Morphology 13
2.1 Nominal Morphology 13
2.1.1 Noun 13
2.1.1.1 Number 13
2.1.1.2 Gender/Class 14
2.1.1.3 Definiteness/Referentiality 14
2.1.1.4 Case 14
2.1.1.5 Possession 21
2.1.2 Pronouns 25
2.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns 25
2.1.2.2 Demonstratives 26
2.1.2.3 Reflexives 27
2.1.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns 28
2.1.2.5 Indefinite Pronouns 28
2.1.2.6 Quantitative Pronouns 29
2.1.3 Numerals 31
2.1.4 Adjectives 32
2.1.4.1 Adverbs 34
2.1.5 Auxiliary Nouns and Postpositions 35
2.1.5.1 Auxiliary Nouns 35
2.1.5.2 Postpositions 36
2.1.6 Nominal Categorizers 37
2.2 Verbal Morphology 38
2.2.1 Verb 38
2.2.1.1 Personal Affixes 39
2.2.1.2 TAM-System 40
2.2.1.2.1 Tense Categories 40
2.2.1.2.1.1 PAST 40
2.2.1.2.1.2 Present-Future 41
2.2.1.2.2 Aspect 42

2.2.1.2.2.1 Iterative 42
2.2.1.2.2.2 Perfect(ive) 43
2.2.1.2.2.3 Resultative 44
2.2.1.2.2.4 Unaccomplished 45
2.2.1.2.2.5 Aspectual Reduplication 45
2.2.1.2.2.6 Cessation 46
2.2.1.2.3 Mood 47
2.2.1.2.3.1 Conditional 47
2.2.1.2.3.2 Concessive 48
2.2.1.2.3.3 Conciliatory 48
2.2.1.2.3.4 Desiderative 49
2.2.1.2.3.5 Evidential 50
2.2.1.2.3.6 Imperative 51
2.2.1.2.3.7 Subjunctive 53
2.2.1.2.3.8 Modals in (-KI) deg 53
2.2.1.3 Negation 53
2.2.2 Verbal Categorizers 55
2.2.3 Verbal Modifiers 56
2.2.3.1 Converbs 56
2.2.3.2 Participles 60
2.3 Auxiliary verbs 62
2.3.2 bol- 67
2.3.3 Self-Benefactive and Benefactive 68
2.3.4 Cislocative and Translocative 68
3 Syntax 69
3.1 Sentence types 69
3.2 Simple Sentence 70
3.3 Complex Sentences 71
3.3.1 Coordination 71
3.3.2 Subordination 71
3.3.2.1 Subordination Types 71
3.3.2.1.1 Participial Subordination 72
3.3.2.1.2 Converb Subordination 74
3.3.2.2 Case-Marked Subordinate Clauses 77
3.3.3 Switch-Reference 85
3.4 Particles, Clitics, etc. 87
4 Sample Texts w/gloss and translation 90
5 Selected Tyvan Grammatical Terms 92
Abbreviations Used 93
References 94

0 Introduction

The Tyvans (also Tuvans, Tuvinians, native ethnonym *tɨvalar*) live in the Tyva Republic, a constituent of the Russian Federation located in a large basin along the upper Yenisei river and its tributaries just to the north of western Mongolia. As evidenced by the ancient runic inscriptions found throughout Tyva, Turkic-speaking populations have inhabited this land for at least 1200 years, and probably much longer. Of the southern Siberian Turkic populations, the Tyvans are by far the best known outside the former USSR, due in recent times to their characteristic tradition of 'throat' singing (*xöömey, sigɨt, kargɨra*, etc.) that has become popular worldwide.

The self-designation *Tyva* is an old ethnonym of inner Asia; apart from the Tyvans, this was the self-designation of the Tofalar, the North Altai Tuba-kiži, and the now extinct Samoyed Tubins, among others. According to Menges (1955, 1959, 1995), the *T'u-p'o* (*Du-bo*) of the Old Chinese sources is the same as modern *Tyva ~ Tofa ~ Tuba*, etc.[1] Following the collapse of Dzungaria (around 1750), Tyva became a remote vassal state of China, Russian presence being limited to isolated traders and settlers until around 1900 (Forsyth 1992). The Russian population increased gradually in the early twentieth century, then more rapidly following the incorporation of the quasi-independent satrapy Tannu-Tuva (founded 1921) into the USSR in 1944. Some Tyvans had remained part of Russia following the fall of Dzungaria, e.g. the Tofalar of the Irkutsk region (Mel'nikova 1994) and Tyvans of southern Altayskiy *Kray*. Today the language of the Tofalar is moribund, spoken only by the older generations, having been replaced by Russian as the native language for the younger generations (Rassadin 1995).

Early works on the Tyvan language (*Tɨva dil*) are extremely limited but include V. Radloff (1882) and N. Katanov (1903), the latter an ethnic Xakas writing on Tyvan (and related languages). Later Western linguists who have worked on Tyvan include K.H. Menges (1955, 1956, 1958, 1959). The standardized Tyvan language was codified over the period between 1928 and 1950. The first alphabet was Latin-based, later replaced by a Cyrillic-type alphabet. Many noted early Soviet linguists took part in this process, including N. N. Poppe, N. F. Jakovlev, E. D. Polivanov, and A. M. Suxotin. There was also an attempt by Buddhist lamas (incl. Mongush Lopsan-Chinmit) during this early period to use a written form of Tyvan with a Latin-based alphabet. In reality, none of these were widely known or used by the common people (Sat 1973). During the 1930's, A. A. Pal'mbax continued to study the Tyvan language, writing his candidate dissertation on developing the Tyvan 'national literary' language. He worked on Tyvan the rest of his life, publishing the standard grammar of Tyvan (along with F. G. Isxakov, 1961).

Among the first Tyvans to pursue advanced study of their language are Yu. L. Aranchyn, A. Ch. Kunaa, and Sh. Ch. Sat, all of whom achieved the degree 'doctor of philological sciences'. Many other Tyvan-speaking linguists have followed their footsteps, including D. A. Mongush, M. Biche-Ool, K-O Bicheldei, M.B. Martan-Ool, M. V. Oyun, etc. Mostly they have produced works in Russian (e.g. Sat 1959, 1960, 1981; Mongush 1958, Oyun 1985; Bicheldei 1980c, 1984), with some notable exceptions (e.g. Sat 1983 1966; Mongush & Sat 1967; Bicheldei 1993). For a partial list of Tyvan grammatical terms, see appendix. Tyvan has also been studied extensively by field expeditions from the Novosibirsk school, resulting in a number of publications (for example, Cheremisina et al. [eds.] 1984; Ubryatova & Litvin [eds.] 1986, Shamina 1987; Cheremisina [ed.] 1995, etc.). Our work takes into account these earlier works, while presenting a large corpus of original field data and some original analysis of the grammar.

The Tyvan standardized language is based on the central dialect, close to the language spoken by the majority of Tyvans, except for former reindeer herding Toža (also

[1] Note also the possible connection of this ethnonym to the so-called 'Proto-Mongolian' *T'o-Ba* (Menges 1995: 17).

Todža) Tyvans of northeastern Tyva (Čadamba 1974), the Tere-Xol Tyvans (Bicheldej 1985, Sat 1984), the lexically (and phonologically) more Mongolianized dialects of the southeast (e.g. Kungurtux, Erzin), and certain groups of Western Tyva (e.g. of the Muγur-Aksɨ and Bay-Tayga regions). According to official doctrine, the nature and purpose of the standardized register is 'to be used in all spheres and functions of society, as the language of press, radio, TV, instruction in the schools and institutes of higher education, theatre, written and *spoken* discourse, record keeping, etc'. (Sat 1973: 17, emphasis ours). People in reality speak in ways somewhat divergent from the standardized form. In addition to the various features that differentiate the above mentioned dialects characteristic of the speech of people of particular areas of Tyva, the speech of certain inhabitants of the capital city of Kyzyl show a certain degree of influence from Russian. Contra Mongush and Sat (1967: 43):

> *kandɨg-bir dialektiniŋ edilekčizi, čižeeleerge, Kɨzɨl xoorayga kelgenge, bodunuŋ dialektizinge eves, literaturlug dɨlga čugaalarɨn kɨzar*

("speakers of any dialect, for example, when they come to the city of Kyzyl, try to speak the literary language, not their own dialect") we found that certain clear dialectal features remain in the speech of recent immigrants. This is a situation that reflects the rapidly changing demographics of the city.

The present work is based primarily on field work carried out in Tyva during the period 1995 through 1998 by both authors independently. We collected data from speakers of all ages, backgrounds, and regions of Tyva. The material we present therefore reflects the rich dialectal diversity of contemporary spoken Tyvan. We do not attempt to standardize the data or examples herein. Where appropriate, we note if a particular example is colloquial or peculiar to a certain region. Otherwise, we eschew a prescriptivist approach in the interest of giving a fuller view of the grammatical and stylistic possibilities of Tyvan.[2]

1 Phonology

1.1 Vowels

Tyvan has sixteeen vowel phonemes: 8 distinct qualities and contrastive length. The symmetry of this system allows vowels to pattern together according to height, backness and rounding. These natural classes provide the basis for Tyvan vowel harmony.

(1)

		front		back	
		unround	round	unround	round
short	high	i	ü	ɨ	u
	non-high	e	ö	a	o
long	high	ii	üü	ɨɨ	uu
	non-high	ee	öö	aa	oo

[2] Examples culled from published sources are primarily intended to demonstrate special constructions that are either obsolete, high register, or otherwise infrequently attested in spoken Tyvan. After each piece of cited data we provide an abbreviated author and page citation in parentheses (see table of author abbreviations in appendix). The authors take full responsibility for any innacuracies and welcome comments. The authors gratefully acknowledge the support of IREX Individual Advanced Research Grants and The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Small Funds Grant #6203 in making our fieldwork in Tyva possible.

1.1.1 Low Pitch Vowels

In addition to eight vowel qualities and distinctive length, Tyvan vowels in word-initial syllables may have a distinctive low pitch. For most speakers, this is realized as very low modal voice, which has the acoustic correlate of low pitch (low fundamental frequency). Low pitch vowels may also be realized by some speakers with a distinct laryngeal posture known as creaky voice or laryngealization. However, evidence that laryngeal posture is the salient feature remains inconclusive. Low pitch, on the other hand, is an essential feature and clear acoustic correlate of these vowels.

In traditional analyses, these have been called 'pharyngealized' vowels and considered a distinct vowel series, thus increasing the Tyvan vowel inventory to twenty-four phonemes (IP 1961).[3] We propose that distinctive low pitch is best understood as a suprasegmental feature in Tyvan. We indicate the presence of this feature by placing the IPA low pitch diacritic over vowel symbols: [è] [ù]. Long vowels are indicated with the low pitch feature only on the first half: [àa]. Vowels that bear low pitch may contrast minimally or near-minimally with either short or long modal vowels.

(2)

short	low pitch	long
et	*èet*	*eet*
'leather'	'meat'	'estuary'
ege	*ège*	*eegi*
'completely'	'beginning'	'rib'
čokta	*čòkta*	*čookta*
'go uphill-IMP	'miss-IMP	'not far'
udup	*ùdup*	
'sleep-CV	'win-CV	

[3] Called *kargɨra* vowels in the Tyvan-language linguistic literature, named for a style of throat-singing that involves very low pitch or creaky voice. This characteristic feature of Tyvan is generally ascribed to influence from a Yeniseian substratum (Bicheldej 1980a, 1980b, 1986, Martan-Ool 1986, Verner 1972). According to Bicheldej (1993), some 19,000 words in Tyvan have a low pitch or *kargɨra* vowel in the first syllable. This is certainly a gross overestimate. Only a few words with a contrast of plain vs. low pitch are marked overtly in Tyvan orthography (using ъ following the vowel): эът 'meat' (cf. эт 'possession'), аът 'horse' (cf. ат 'name'); оът 'grass' (cf. от 'fire') каът 'row, floor' (cf. кат 'berry'), дүъш (cf. дүш 'dream'); not even all phonemically contrastive words with low pitch have it represented orthographically, e.g. *arga* 'means' and *àrga* '(mountain) forest' both are written арга. Note that *kargɨra* vowels appear in Mongolian and Russian loans, where the presence of a strong consonant (p, t, s, š, x, and voiced variants thereof) in final-position of a monosyllabic word, or in medial position in bisyllabic words, may trigger the use of a *kargɨra* vowel. Mongolian loans date from the early 13th century on--the beginning of intense Mongolian-Tyvan contacts: *bèk* 'strong', *mège* 'lie, deception', *àmdan* 'taste of food', *čàlgaa* 'lazy, laziness'. Russian loans are divided into those from pre-1930 (I) and those from post-1930 (II), *kargɨra* vowels are found in both types: I-> *dùga* 'arc(h); shaft-bow', *sàpɨk* 'boot', *mèdaal* 'medal'; II-> *vòžaatɨy* 'leader, guide'.

Low pitch is lexically determined and appears in a relatively closed class of words. These are mostly monosyllabic nominal roots: *àat* 'horse' *qàat* 'floor' *čüük* 'freight'. Our acoustic analysis shows that when low pitch vowels appear in monosyllabic words, they pattern with long vowels with respect to duration. In such contexts low pitch typically is realized only on the first half of the vowel. The second half of the vowel contains a rapid (rising) pitch transition, followed by a stable period of modal pitch. Acoustically, this sounds much like a contour tone. However, Tyvan lacks a true tone system, and these vowels are best described as having a suprasegmental feature (e.g. low pitch) associated with the first half (or mora). For low pitch vowels in monosyllables, we adopt a phonetic notation (in this section) which shows these vowels are long but with low pitch only in the first half: *àat* 'horse' *čàas* 'rain' *èet* 'meat' *òot* 'grass'. When a monosyllabic root contains a creaky vowel and ends in a cluster [rt], the creaky quality may carry over onto the [r]. Rather than a long vowel, as in the case of *àat* 'horse', there is a short, somewhat rhotacized vowel, followed by an [r] which has a pitch transition: *ìrt* 'castrated ram' *àrt* 'mountain pass'.

Low pitch also appears in a small class of polysyllabic roots and in suffixed forms: *àdɨy* 'bear' *àdɨgži* 'bear hunter' *kìži* 'person' *kìžiler* 'people' *ège* 'beginning' *pùduq* 'twig' *qàdɨq* 'porridge' *kèdeer* 'to sneak up on' *òskeer* 'to stray' *čòktaar* 'to miss' *àd-ɨm* 'my horse' *àd-ɨvɨs* 'our horse' *àd-ɨvɨs-tan* 'from our horse'.[4] In polysyllabic contexts, low pitch vowels are realized as uniformly creaky throughout their entire duration. Their duration in such contexts tends to be somewhat closer to that of short vowels than to that of long vowels.

1.1.2 Nasal Vowels

Nasality also exists in some dialects as a secondary articulation on vowels, but this feature is not distinctive in the standard language. Chadamba (1974) cites examples from the Tozha dialect where long nasalized vowels reflect the earlier presence of intervocalic nasal consonants: *čãã* 'new' *sõõk* 'bone'. Bicheldej (1980c, 1984) lists about 75 words with long nasalized vowels for Tyvan, but this feature non-distintive.

1.1.3 Archiphonemes

We employ the following vowel archiphonemes herein: /I/ represents a high vowel subject to both back and round harmony, with four surface variants: [i] [ü] [ɨ] [u]. The third singular possessive person marker /-(z)I/ is an example (*àd-ɨ* 'his horse' *küžü* 'his strength'. Archiphoneme /A/ represents a low vowel subject to back harmony, with surface variants [e] and [a]. The locative suffix / -DA/ provides examples: *qɨzɨl-da* Kyzyl-LOC, *inek-te* cow-LOC.

1.1.4 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony may be most simply described as a requirement that certain vowels agree with other vowels in the same word in terms of some particular feature, for example, backness, height or rounding. Tyvan exhibits two types of vowel harmony: Back and Round.

1.1.4.1 Back Harmony

The most robust type of harmony in Tyvan is back harmony. All vowels in a word must belong to either the front [i] [ü] [ö] [e] or back class [u] [ɨ] [o] [a] . Vowels in suffixes take their cue from the vowel to their left, whether it is in a root or another suffix. Tyvan suffixes thus have at minimum two allomorphs, a front one and a back one: *is-ter-im-den* footprint-PL-1-ABL, *at-tar-ɨm-dan* name-PL-1-ABL.

Morphological exceptions to back harmony include two non-alternating suffixes: ALLATIVE -če *aal-ǯe* 'yurt-ALL and DIMINUTIVE -maa *pelek-maa* 'gift-DIM (female given name). Also, the final vowel of the DURATIVE (also SEQUENTIAL) affix /-BIšaan/ fails to alternate for back harmony: *ɨrla-višaan men* 'I'm still singing' *čemnen-mišaan men* 'I'm still eating' *piǯi-višaan men* 'while I'm writing'.

Co-articularory exceptions to back harmony may be found in fluent speech, where the backness value of an enclitic auxiliary verb may spread leftward to the final vowel of a converb, thus yielding a disharmonic form. A form like *am piǯip aar men* write-CV-AUX-P/F-1 'I'm writing, will write it now' in rapid speech becomes *am piǯɨvaar men.*

Lexical exceptions to back harmony may be found in numerous Russian loanwords: *televizor* 'television set' *kino* 'cinema' *sizo* 'jail' *sudija* 'judge' *igar* 'Igor'. However, speakers may alter the shape of borrowings to conform to back harmony: *televizer* (< R. televizar) 'television set'.

1.1.4.2 Round Harmony

Round harmony in Tyvan requires that any high vowel following a round vowel must also be round. It may be construed as spreading the feature round rightward from any round vowel to any high vowel. Round harmony thus targets /i/ and /ɨ/ and yields [ü] and [u] as outputs. The operation of round harmony is most apparent in affixes that contain a high vowel, e.g. the 3-POSS suffix /-(z)I/:

(3)	*er-i*	'man-3
	ög-ü	'glottis-3
	xar-ɨ	'snow-3
	ava-zɨ	'mother-3
	xol-u	'hand-3

Round harmony in roots is apparent as a co-occurence pattern among vowels. For example, sequences of round vowel / high unrounded vowel are never attested in the native lexicon, as the second vowel in such a sequence would be targeted by round harmony. Nor do native words contain the sequence unrounded vowel / rounded vowel, because a rounded vowel may appear only after another rounded vowel. High round vowels [ü] [u] appear in post-initial syllables only when a trigger (a round vowel) is present in the preceding syllable: *pörü* 'wolf', *pürü* 'leaf', *udu* sleep-IMPER, *oruq* 'road'. Since round harmony involves only high vowels as targets, the mid-rounded vowels [ö] [o] can never occur post-initially in native words.[5]

[4] In the speech of many younger, native-born Kyzyl residents, the low pitch vs. modal pitch distinction is often neutralized in inflected forms, even in closed syllables where one finds a contrast in the speech of older residents and recent immigrants, e.g. *àat* 'horse' vs. (*adɨm* horse-1 'my horse') *atka* horse-DAT, *attan* horse-ABL 'from the horse'; also *bört* 'cap' > *meeŋ börgüm* 'my cap', *seeŋ börgüŋ* 'your cap' (14 year old girl, native born), etc. vs. *àt, àtka, àttan, àdɨm* (87 year old woman); but note also *àtka* 'to the horse', *adɨm* 'my horse' (59 year old woman, native born).

[5] The only exceptions to this are a few words that appear to be derived from compounds: *xorǰoq* 'impossible'. Also, in older sources from the dialects of Western Tyva, where Altai

The historical operation of round harmony is apparent in the phonology of Mongolian loanwords in Tyvan (Tatarintsev 1976). First, high vowels that follow a round vowel have undergone harmony: OldMong. *šigümžilel* corresponds to Tyvan *šügümčülel* 'criticism', and Mong. *mölžigči* 'exploiter' yields Tyv. *mölčükčü*. Second, rounded vowels that are not motivated by harmony have been de-rounded: Mong. *al.čuur* 'napkin' was rendered as Tyv. *al.ǰiir*, and Mong. *ter.güü.leg.či* 'director' became Tyv. *ter.gii.leg.či*. Likewise, Mong. *oboo* yielded Tyv. *ovaa* 'shrine' and Mong. *ayuul* became Tyv. *ayɨl* 'danger'. Finally, regressive round harmony appears to have occurred in some borrowings: Mong. *ži.ru.mal* 'pattern' became Tyv.*ču.ru.mal*, and Mong. *bi.de.güü.lig* 'primitive' became Tyv. *bü.dü.güü.lük*.

The dynamic operation of round harmony in roots is observable in full reduplication (see section **1.5**). When the reduplication rule has the effect of de-rounding a vowel in an initial syllable, any round vowels that follow it are also de-rounded. The consequences of removing the triggering vowel via reduplication demonstrate the active operation of round harmony: *ulu* 'dragon' reduplicates as *ulu-ali*, not **ulu-alu*. When reduplication introduces a trigger, succeeding high vowels must undergo rounding: *arɨ* 'bee' reduplicates as *arɨ-uru*, not * *arɨ-urɨ*.

1.1.5 Epenthesis

Tyvan speakers may break up consonant clusters in loanwords by epenthesizing a high vowel [i] or [ɨ] (underlined) which conforms to back harmony: *p̲ilan* 'plan' *x̲irebret* 'ridge' (R. *xrebret*) *tex̲naar* 'pure grain alcohol' (R. *texnar*) *sek̲s* 'sex' *gip̲s* 'cast' (R. *gips*) *ačɨ̲ki* 'eye-glasses' (R. *ački*). Epenthetic vowels may be targeted by progressive round harmony: *boqu̲s* 'boxing' (R. *boks*). Round harmony does not appear to operate leftwards, as it does not target epenthetic vowels in initial clusters: *qɨ̲lup* 'club' (R. *klup*) *p̲ilof* or *p̲ilop* 'rice pilaf' (R. *plof*).

1.2 Consonant Phonemes of Tyvan

The consonantal phonemes of Tyvan make up the following set:

(4)

	Labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	pʰ p		tʰ t		k g
Nasal	m		n		ŋ
Trill			r		
Fricatives	f		s z	š ž	x
Affricates				č	
Lateral			l		
Approximant		v		y	

Note: [f] occurs only in borrowings; [c] (or t͡s) appears in a few Russian loanwords.

1.2.1 Consonant Allophones

influence is pronounced, one could find Altai-esque forms such as *söglöbözöŋ* 'if you don't say' (instead of *söglevezeŋ*) with a spread of [round] from the initial-syllable through the end.

Several consonant sounds exhibit positionally determined variability in Tyvan. For example, [q] is a positional variant of /k/ in back harmonic words: *inek* 'cow' *ayaq* 'bowl'. [ɣ] or [ʁ] are variants of /g/ in intervocalic or word-final position for some speakers: *aɣaar* or *agaar* 'air'. [x] may also be a phonetic variant of [g] in word-final position: /ög/ 'yurt' surfaces as either *öx* or *öɣ*.[6] /v/ is an independent phoneme: *avay* 'mother', vs. *ačay* 'father' but [v] is also an allophone of /p/ in intervocalic position: *xep* 'clothing' *xevi* clothing-3. Contrary to Kreuger (1977), /p/ does not become [v] after [r] and [l]: *borbaq* 'round' *alban* 'duty'. [ǰ] is a variant of /č/ when it follows a sonorant: *aŋ-ǰɨ* 'hunter' *emǰi* 'doctor' *qonǰuɣ* 'very', *aalǰɨ* 'traveller, guest'.

1.2.2 Initial Plosives and Aspiration

Bilabial and alveolar stops in inital position contrast for some speakers by voicing and for most speakers by the presence or absence of aspiration, which in turn determines voice onset time. In order to facilitate reading in Tyvan, as well as ease in using Tyvan-Russian dictionaries and the forthcoming Tyvan-English Dictionary (Anderson and Harrison, in preparation), the transcription used in the examples of Tyvan words throughout this grammar (outside of the phonology section) reflects the orthography of Tyvan: The unaspirated [t] and [p] stops are symbolized by {b} ({б}) and {d} ({д}) and the aspirated [tʰ] and [pʰ] are symbolized by {t} ({т}) and {p} ({п}), even though for some speakers the former set of plosives are only weakly voiced or unvoiced. In the Tyvan linguistic literature, this contrast is known as the strong/weak opposition. The following are minimal pairs: *pʰar* 'tiger' *par* 'is/are' (COPULA) *pʰaj* 'a clay pigeon for shooting', *paj* 'rich', *tus* 'salt' *tʰus* 'separate' (adj.), *tʰaraa* 'bread', *taraa* 'next'. The velar stops {k g} contrast for voicing, but initial [g-] appears only in borrowings: *qajɨ* 'which' *gajɨ* 'state auto inspection' (R. acronym). In back harmonic words, /k/ becomes phonetic [q], but we generally use the symbol {k} for both. Unlike in Xakas and most other Turkic languages, [x] may appear in words with front vocalism: *xün* 'sun' *xiree* 'saw' (tool).[7]

1.2.3 Consonant Phonotactics

The voiced plosives {b} and {d} as noted above are very weakly voiced, and, for many speakers, contrast with {p} and {t} with respect to aspiration. This contrast is restricted to word-initial position: In intervocalic and final position, only [d] and [p] (~ [-v-] intervocalically) occur.

The contrast between /k/ and /g/ is limited to word-final position: *öɣ* 'yurt' *ök* 'glottis'. The contrast is neutralized intervocallically, where both /k/ and /g/ surface as [ɣ]: *aq* /ak/ 'white' *aɣɨm* 'my white' *aɣaar* /agaar/ 'air'.

The affricate [č] appears only initially and in intervocalic position within roots: *ačam* 'father-1, *čok* 'no / not'. It may appear in word-internal clusters as a result of suffixation *ot-čugaš* 'fire-DIM.

[6] We use symbols [g] and [ɣ] to represent an underlyingly voiced velar stop, but the reader should note that in intervocalic or word-final position this will typically be devoiced and/or fricated.

[7] According to Doerfer (1973: 254ff.), correspondences between Tyvan [x-] and [k-] (q-) and Chuvash are irregular, e.g. Tyvan *xar* 'snow' = Chuvash *yur*, Tyvan *kas* 'duck' = Chuvash *xur*, Tyvan *kal* 'stay, remain' = Chuvash *yul*, Tyvan *xol* 'arm, hand' = Chuvash *xul*. Complex [t-]/[tʰ-], [k-]/[x-], etc. correspondences are found between Mongolian and Tyvan as well, see Doerfer (1973) for examples.

[ŋ] does not occur syllable initially. [x] occurs only word-initially.

1.2.4 Consonant Assimilation

Final [t] becomes voiced when followed by a vowel initial suffix: *at* 'name' *adım* name-1 'my name'. Final [š] becomes voiced [ž] when followed by a vowel initial suffix: *eš* 'friend' *ežim* 'my friend'. Underlying /č/ becomes a voiced affricate [ǰ] in voiced environments: *ep =čok* 'inconvenient' but *em=ǰok* 'there's no medicine'. Underlying /g/ usually surfaces as [g] when adjacent to a stop or a sonorant: *ögden* 'from a/the yurt', *ögler* 'yurts'. *aŋgı* 'different', *algıš* 'shamanic chant' *èrgi* 'old'. When /g/ appears in intervocalic position, many speakers (and some entire dialect regions) tend to fricate it to [ɣ]. Thus /araga/ 'fermented milk drink' may surface as either *araga* or *araɣa*. In most dialects, /g/ is fricated and also devoiced in final position. Thus /ög/ 'yurt' surfaces as *öx* or *öɣ*, and /deg/ 'as if' as *dex* or *deɣ*. Final clusters in borrowings are typically reduced by consonant elision: *rasis* 'racist' *spesalis* 'specialist' (R. *spetsyalist*).

1.2.5 Consonant Clusters

No initial clusters exist in native Tyvan words. The only syllable-final clusters are [rt] and [yt]. Other word-internal clusters are always heterosyllabic.[8] The following heterosyllabic clusters are attested in the native lexicon (excluding Russian borrowings but including some clusters--notably *rb* and *lb*--that were probably borrowed with Mongolian words). In borrowings, certain clusters are tolerated, while others are broken up by V epenthesis or C elision (see section **1.4**).

(5) Tyvan consonant clusters and geminates

Plosives	*pp*	*pt*	*pč*	*pl*	*pk*		
	tp	*tt*	*tč*	*tl*	*tk*		
	kp	*kt*	*kš*	*kč*	*kl*		
	gb	*gd*	*gž*	*gj*	*gl*		
Sonorants	*mb*	*md*	*mm*	*mn*	*mz*	*mč*	*mg*
	nd	*nm*	*nn*	*nŋ*	*nz*	*nǰ*	*ng*
	ŋd	*ŋm*	*ŋn*	*ŋz*	*ŋǰ*	*ng*	
	rb	*rt*	*rd*	*rn*	*rž*	*rl*	*rg*
	lb	*ld*	*lz*	*lč*	*lǰ*	*lg*	
Fricatives	*sp*	*st*	*sč*	*sk*			
	šp	*št*	*šč*	*šk*			
	žd	*žm*					
Glide	*yt*	*yd*	*ym*	*yn*	*yʒ*	*yj*	*yl* *yg*

Examples: *aydan* 'moon-ABL *aytirıɣ* 'question' *alban* 'definitely' *aldarlıɣ* 'famous' *dörbeljin* 'square' *aldar* 'fame' *amdanıɣ* 'tasty' *aŋdarıq* 'turned inside out'

[8] Note that the disallowable medial cluster */-ln-/ is realized either as [-ld-] or as [-nn-] depending on the particular morphological category involved, e.g. in the ACC and GEN of [-l]-final stems, the result is [-ld-], but in forms resulting from the loss of a high vowel, either in possessive forms of nominal stems, or participial forms of verbs, as -nn- cf. *xöldü* lake-ACC or *xolduŋ* hand-GEN vs. *kenni* bride-3 and *kınnır* perform-AOR.

aŋzaq 'hunting-ADJ *àrt* 'mountain pass' *aptaraa* 'wooden chest' *arga* 'means' *ašqa* 'money' *aržaan* 'spring' *pay-gara* (a surname) *peldir* 'river confluence' *pelek-ke* 'gift-DAT *pištaq* 'cheese' *bolzumza* 'be-FUT-1SG-CON *porbaq* 'round' *čaraš-pʰaj* 'beautiful-DIM *čemnengen* 'ate' *čestey* 'elder sister's husband' *čòktaar* 'go uphill' *amgı* 'present' *čamdıq* 'some' *četpes* suffice-NEG.P/F *enderik* 'plentiful' *erden* male-ABL *ertine* 'treasure' *erttem* 'science' *eš-ter* friend-PL *išqaš* 'as if' *arn-ım* face-1SG *mergen* 'wise' *moyn-um* neck-1SG *onmašqa* 'othewise' *onza* 'special' *orba* 'drumstick' *orlan* (male given name), *öskeer* stray-FUT *qartap* 'once' (dial.) *qattap* 'once' *qunǰuu* 'husband's mother' *udutpa* sleep-CAUS-NEG *ugbay* or *uɣbay* 'elder sister' *ögže* yurt-ALL *xepče* clothing-ALL *xeple* 'clothing-EMPH *oynaar* 'play-P/F *xoytpaq* 'fermented milk product' *turanzıɣ* 'binocular-like'.

1.3 Morpho-Phonological Processes of Tyvan

1.3.1 Velar Elision and Vowel Lengthening

/g/ > [ɣ] may appear in coda position of a monosyllabic word containing a short vowel: *öɣ* 'yurt' *čaɣ* 'fat'; it never appears in coda-position in a mono-syllable with a long vowel. When the 3SG POSS suffix is added (or any other vowel-initial suffix), [ɣ] is elided and the vowel of the word undergoes lengthening: *öö* 'yurt-3, *čaa* 'fat-3. The voiceless velar/uvular stop [k/q] patterns differently. First, [k/q] may appear finally in monosyllables containing either short or long vowels: *ök* 'button' *öök* 'glottis' *šaq* 'time'. Further, [k/q] does not elide when 3SG POSS affix is added: *öɣü* button-3 *ööɣü* glottis-3 *šaɣı* time-3. However, in polysylabic words, both /k/ and /g/ pattern together, both undergo elision: *inek* 'cow' *inee* cow-3 *ayaq* 'bowl' *ayaa* bowl-3 *uruɣ* 'daughter' *uruu* daughter-3 *biliɣ* 'knowledge' *bilii* knowledge-3. Both velar phonemes have analogs in the archiphonemic/morphophonological system, see 2.1.1.4 and 2.2.3.1 below.

1.3.2 Metathesis

Sequences of labial and velar (or uvular) stops metathesize across word boundaries in rapid speech (shown in boldface): *proqpa* 'cork' (from R. *propka*) *tryaqpa* 'rag' (from R. *tryapka*). This effect is most commonly observed in the converb plus auxiliary constructions. The metathesized final [p] may become (partially) voiced, as it now stands in syllable onset position. Examples (i, iii, v, vii) below represent careful speech, while (ii, iv, vi, viii) show the same utterances with [pk] metathesizing to [kp] in fluent, rapid speech.

(6) i. *bo nom körüp qaan men*

this book see-CV AUX-PAST.I 1

ii. *bo nom körük paan men* (i, ii) 'I have already seen that book'

iii. *xoy ölüp qaan*

sheep die-CV AUX-PAST.I

iv. *xoy ölük baan* (iii, iv) 'The sheep has died'

v. *kaynaar čorup qaan*
to.where go-CV AUX-PAST.I

vi. *kaynaar čoruq baan* (v, vi) 'Where has s/he gone?'

vii. *olar čedip keer*
they reach-CV CLOC-P/F 'They will come'

viii. *kažan olar čedik peerge*
when they reach-CV! CLOC!-P/F-DAT 'When they came'

Stop fricative sequences may also metathezise: *šašpal* (from *šapšal*, name of mountain) *ašqa* 'money' (orthographic *aqša*). The desiderative affix /-ks-/ exemplifies the fluid state of underlying stop-fricative sequences. A number of dialects have fully reanalyzed this sequence as /-sx-/, both underlyingly and at the surface. A few dialects and idiolects have both surface forms in free variation. Other dialects (e.g. Süt-xöl) have /-ks-/ in careful speech but metathesize to [sx] or [sk] in rapid speech: *maŋna-sx-ap tur men* 'I want to run' *bizi-sk-ep tur men* 'I want to write'.

1.4 Phonology of Russian Loan Words in Tyvan

Tyvan has borrowed and continues to borrow a great many words from Russian (Tatarinstev 1974). Due to the high level of bilingualism, most Russian loan words retain a form that is very close to their native (Russian) pronounciation when adopted into Tyvan. Stress is the primary exception to this: borrowed words invariably receive final stress. The original Russian stress, even it was already on the final syllable, is rendered as length in Tyvan: R. *generátor* > T. *generaatár*, R. *kinó* > T. *kinoó*, R. *pagóda* > T. *paɣooda;* R. *kinó* T. *kinoó* 'cinema', R. *káčestva* T. *kaačistvá* 'quality', R. *yáblaqa*, T. *yaabláq* 'apple'.[9]

An earlier layer of Russian borrowings may be distinguished by their higher degree of phonological distortion (Anderson 1995). These include examples of the following: elision of final vowels *yaabláq* 'apple' (R. *yáblaqa*); resequencing of glide/liquid clusters *qoylá* < R. 'Kolya' *oyla* < R. 'Olya'; epenthesis *sunupqá* 'bag' (R. *súmka*); fortition of initial fricatives *čoodúr* 'Theodore' (R. *fjódar*) *piitjá* 'Vitya'. Currently, one may observe a generational difference in that certain loanwords are pronounced differently by older people than by younger people, for example, both *qambeét* and *konfyeét* are variants of R. *konfyét* 'candy'.

1.5 Morphophonology of Reduplication

Tyvan has a wide range of reduplication phenomena, ranging from fully lexicalized (non-productive) to fully productive. One partially lexicalized reduplication takes a base beginning in $(C_1)V_1$ and replaces (C_1) with [s] in the reduplicant: *aar* 'heavy' *aar-saar*

9 In the speech of highly Russianized Kyzyl residents, fully Russian pronounciation may be encountered; in certain usages these may be instances of code-mixing with Russian rather than borrowing a Russian lexeme. See also Anderson (1995) for a discussion of this in Siberian Turkic in general.

heavy-DIM *pelek* 'gift' *pelek-selek* gift-DIM *porbaq* 'round' *porbaq-sarbaq* round-DIM, *uuruk-suuruk* 'simultaneously'.

Emphatic reduplication takes a base $(C_1)V_1(C)$ and affixes a reduplicant $(C_1)V_1p$. This rule is semantically limited to certain color terms, descriptive modifiers, and verbs (see **2.2** below): *qizıl* 'red' *qıp-qızıl* 'completely red' *uzun* 'long' *up-uzun* 'very long' *türgen* 'quickly' *tüp-türgen* 'very quickly' *čiŋge* 'thin' *čip-čiŋge* 'very thin'. Interestingly, these forms allow the emphatic affix /-lA/ to intervene between the reduplicant and the base: *up-la-uzun* 'really very long' *čip-le-čiŋge* 'really very thin'.

Tyvan has a highly productive, morphological rule of full word reduplication that replaces the vowel of the initial syllable. Thus *nom* 'book' becomes *nom-nam*, *aal* 'yurt' becomes *aal-uul*, and *er* 'male' usually becomes *er-ar*. The semantics of this reduplication signals intentional vagueness or a special, casual register. For example, the reduplication of *horse* might appear in a sentence meaning 'You haven't seen *anything like a horse* have you?' or 'There were *horses and stuff* around the yurt'. This rule reduplicates the entire base (consisting of virtually any lexeme plus its attendant morphology). The choice of the replacement vowel varies widely in different (regional) versions of the rule. In its simplest form, the rule changes [a] to [u], and changes all other vowels to [a]. Regional variations allow greater flexibility in the output. For many speakers, [e] and [ö] in the base may be changed to either [a] or [u] in the reduplicant: *er* 'male' becomes *er-ar* or *er-ur*. In polysyllabic forms, vowels in non-initial syllables may also change, due to the regular operation of back and round harmony: *idik* 'boot(s)' becomes *idik-adıq* (with each part internally harmonic, but the whole is not); *arı* 'bee' becomes *arı-uru* and *ulu* 'dragon' becomes *ulu-alı* and *ežim* friend-1SG.POSS becomes *ežim-ažim*. Speakers also differ as to whether they treat the base+reduplicant as a single morphological word for the purpose of affixation, or as two distinct words. For a base *idik* 'boot', both *idiim-adıım* boot-1-REDUP-1 and *idik-adıım* boot-REDUP-1 are possible outputs.

1.6 Syllable Structure

The following syllable types are attested in native Tyvan words:

(7)					
	V	*a*	'and'	*a.zı*	'if'
	VV	*öö*	'yurt'-3	*oo.žum*	'slow'
	VC	*am*	'now'	*ot*	'fire'
	VVC	*aar*	'heavy'	*eet*	'delta'
	VCC	*àrt*	'mountain pass'	*ìrt*	'ram'
	CV	*be*	QUES	*ča*	'bow'
	CVV	*xuu*	'private'	*čaa*	'new'
	CVC	*xap*	'sack'	*xar*	'snow
	CVVC	*šuut*	'completely'	*suur*	'village'
	CVCC	*dört*	'four'	*bòrt*	'hat'
		ayt	'listen, say!'		

1.7 Suprasegmentals

Stress is phonetically rather weak, and falls on the final syllable of a word. Stress is not sensitive to vowel quantity; so long vowels do not attract stress: *aarıx* 'ill' *püürék* 'kidney'. When suffixes are added, the main stress typically shifts to the final suffix.

(8)

ᾱal	'yurt'
aal-ím	yurt-1
aal-ɨm-gá	yurt-1-DAT
aal-dár	yurt-PL
aal-dar-ím	yurt-PL-1
aal-dar-ɨm-gá	yurt-PL-1-DAT

There are several non-stress-bearing suffixes or enclitics:

(9) ABLATIVE suffix /-DAn/

aal-ím-dan	yurt-1-ABL
aal-dar-ím-dan	yurt-PL-1-ABL

ALLATIVE suffix (or enclitic) /-če /

aal-ím-že	yurt-1-ALL
aal-dar-ím-že	yurt-PL-1-ALL
aal-dár-če	yurt-PL-ALL

The negative (NEG) suffix (underlined) does not typically bear stress. When it appears in a past tense verb form, NEG blocks stress from moving past itself, thus the stress will fall on the preceding syllable.

(10)

nomǰúvadím	read-NEG-PAST.II -1	'I did not read'
diŋnávayn men	hear-NEG-PAST.I -1	'I did not listen/hear'
užurášpaan bis	meet-RECIP-NEG-PAST.I .2-PL	'we have not met'

In standard Tyvan, the NEG does bear stress in P/F forms: *išpés men* 'I don't/won't drink'. Some dialects (e.g. Kungurtux in southeastern Tuva) avoid stressing NEG even in P/F NEG forms: *íšpes men.*

For some speakers, Russian borrowings may preserve their native stress pattern, keeping non-final stress. If more than two syllables of suffixes are added to such a word however, primary stress will be attracted to the final syllable.

(11)

non-final stress maintained

tráqtar	'tractor'
tráqtar-lar	tractor-PL
tráqtar-ɨvɨs	tractor-1PL

stress on both initial and final

tráqtar-lar-ɨvɨ́s	tractor-PL-1PL

stress shifts to final when more than two syllables of suffixes are added

traqtar-lar-ɨvɨ́s-tan	tractor-PL-1PL-ABL
traqtar-lar-ɨVɨs-tá	tractor-PL-1PL-LOC

2 Morphology
2.1 Nominal Morphology

2.1.1 Noun
2.1.1.1 Number

The plural suffix in Tyvan is archiphonemically /-LAr/, with a range of phonologically conditioned variants, e.g. *börüler* 'wolves', *xadɨlar* 'pines', *emner* 'medicines', *nomnar* 'books', *xölder* 'lakes', *xoldar* 'hands', *inekter* 'cows', *àttar* 'horses'. The PL marker precedes possessive and case affixes:

(12) PL > POSS

nomnarɨm	my books
nomnarɨŋ	your books
nomnarɨ	his/her/its books

PL > Case	ACC	*börülerni*	wolves-ACC
	GEN	*börülerniŋ*	of the wolves
	DAT	*börülerge*	for the wolves
	LOC	*börülerde*	at the wolves
	ABL	*börülerden*	from the wolves
	ALL	*börülerže*	to(wards) the wolves
PL > POSS > Case	ACC	*inekterimni*	my cows-ACC
	GEN	*inekterimniŋ*	of my cows
	DAT	*inekterimge*	for my cows
	LOC	*inekterimde*	at my cows
	ABL	*inekterimden*	from my cows
	ALL	*inekterimje*[10]	to(wards) my cows

The plural marker does not usually combine with nouns that are quantified by a number (see 2.1.3 for exceptions):

(13)

beš nom	*üš školači*
five book	three school-AGE
'five books'	'three pupils'

Nouns that are preceded by a (non-numerical) quantifier optionally take /-LAr/ to give a distributional meaning in some dialects:

(14) i.

baškɨm eŋmežok	*nom(nar)*	*nomčaan*
teacher-1 many	book-(PL)	read-PAST.1
'my teacher has read many (different) books'		

[10] Note that vowel harmony violations can be found in certain people's speech (i); also, double marking of plural is encountered in certain dialects (ii)

(i)

olar čoruksaanner	*olar amda öörenip turarler*
they go-DES-PAST.I-PL	they still study-CV AUX-P/F-PL
'they wanted to go'	'they are still studying'

(ii)

olar	*amda*	*bibliotekada*	*olurubušaan*	*nomčunup*	*olurlarlar*
they	still	library-LOC	sit-CV	read-RFLXV-CV	AUX-PL-PL

'they are still sitting in the library and reading'

ii. *men* *xöy* *kiži(ler)ni* *kördüm*
1 many people-(PL)-ACC see-PAST.II-1
'I saw many (different) people'

2.1.1.2 Gender/Class

There are no morphological distinctions of gender or class in the Tyvan nominal system. The sole exception appears to be adjectives 'old' and 'young', which require different words for animate and inanimate objects. Animate objects such as people, animals, trees, the heart, etc. are modified by *kirgan* 'old' or *anyak* 'young'; while inanimate objects (things, plants, body parts) take *èrgi* 'old' or *čaa* 'new, young'.

2.1.1.3 Definiteness/Referentiality

There are no definite articles in Tyvan. If something needs to be overtly marked as definite, the demonstratives *ol, bo* , or *döö* (obsolete) can be used in this function. In general, indefinite direct objects are unmarked; only definite direct objects receive ACC case marking.

(15) i. *nom* *ekeldim*
book bring-PAST.I-1
'I brought a book'

ii. *nomnu* *ekeldim*
book-ACC bring-PAST.I-1
'I brought **the** book'

Marking something as overtly indefinite can also be acheived through the use of the numeral *bir* 'one' as well, *bir kiži keldi* one person come-PAST.II 'a person came'.

2.1.1.4 Case

Tyvan employs six cases in addition to the unmarked (or 'nominative') form. The basic or underlying form of each case affix can be considered the form found after vowel-final stems. The locative (LOC), ablative (ABL), dative (DAT), accusative (ACC), and genitive (GEN) all reflect their ancestral Turkic form rather straightforwardly, and are fully integrated phonologically into the language. The allative (ALL) case on the other hand has a special status within Tyvan. ALL is marked by /-Je /, which always has front vocalism regardless of the vocalism of its host. However, ALL is not simply some kind of unchanging particle, as the initial consonant undergoes a partial assimilation to the voicing specification of preceding consonants. Archiphonemic representations of the Tyvan case affixes are as follows:

(16)

Case	Archiphonemic	Surface forms			
ACC	-NI	ni	-nü	-nɨ	-nu
		-di	-dü	-dɨ	-du
		-ti	-tü	-tɨ	-tu
GEN	-NIŋ	niŋ	-nüŋ	-nɨŋ	-nuŋ
		-diŋ	-düŋ	-dɨŋ	-duŋ
		-tiŋ	-tüŋ	-tɨŋ	-tuŋ
DAT	-KA[11]	-ge	-ga		

[11] Strictly speaking, it seems that is necessary to set up two archiphonemes -K and -G, due to the different behavior with (short) vowel-final stems of the DAT affix in -KA (similarly, the derivational clitic *-KI*, the 'limited' mood form in *-KIže* and the modal in *-KI deg*) and the converb suffixes -GAš or -GAlA, e.g. *baš* 'head' *baška* 'to the head', *börü* 'wolf' *börüge* 'to the wolf' vs. *nomču-* 'read' > *nomčaaš* 'having read', *nomčaan* 'read'.

		ɣe	-ɣa		
		-ke	-ka		
LOC	-DA	de	-da		
		-te	-ta		
ABL	-DAn	-den	-dan		
		-ten	-tan		
ALL-1	-Je	-če	-že		
ALL-2	-DIvA	-dive	-düve	-dɨva	-duva
		-tive	-tüve	-tɨva	-tuva

(17)

	'wolf'	'pine'	'book'	'lake'	'horse'	'cow'
	börü	*xadɨ*	*nom*	*xöl*	*àt*	*inek*
ACC	*börünü*	*xadɨnɨ*	*nomnu*	*xöldü*	*àtti*	*inekti*
GEN	*börünüŋ*	*xadɨnɨŋ*	*nomnuŋ*	*xöldüŋ*	*àttɨŋ*	*inektiŋ*
DAT	*börüɣe*	*xadɨɣa*	*nomɣa*	*xölɣe*	*àtka*	*inekke*
LOC	*börüde*	*xadɨda*	*nomda*	*xölde*	*àtta*	*inekte*
ABL	*börüden*	*xadɨdan*	*nomdan*	*xölden*	*àttan*	*inekten*
ALL	*börüže*	*xadɨže*	*nomɣe*	*xölɣe*	*àtče*	*inekče*

The unmarked or nominative case in Tyvan (*adaarɨnɨŋ padeži*) has several functions. It is the unmarked case for the subject of a sentence. The first nominal in two-part *izafet* (possessive) constructions also generally appear in this unmarked form (see **2.1.1.5** below). Also, in constructions with the so-called 'auxiliary-nouns, the first member may likewise be optionally in the unmarked case form (or the GEN). Indefinite direct objects of transitive verbs also generally appear in the unmarked case. The unmarked form may additionally be used instead of the ALL or DAT case to express motion towards.

(18) i. *men* *Kɨzɨlga* *čurttap* *turgan men*
I Kyzyl-DAT live-CV AUX-PAST.I I
'I was living in Kyzyl' *or* 'I had been living in Kyzyl'

ii. *bo* *instituttuŋ* *direktoru* *Mergendir*
this institute-GEN director-3 Mergen-ASSRTV
'the director of this institute is Mergen'

iii. *dilgi keži* *inek südü*
fox fur-3 cow milk-3
'fox fur' 'cow milk'

iv. *ög ištinde*
yurt inside-3-LOC
'inside the yurt'

v. *men oon čagaa* *aldɨm*
I 3.ABL letter take-PAST.II-1
'I got a letter from him'

vi. *ol kiži kino parıksaptırar*
s/he movies go-DES-CV-AUX-P/F
'he wants to go the movies'

The basic function of the ablative ABL case (*ünerinıŋ padeži*) is to mark motion away from a location (i). Like the LOC, this has been extended to temporal constructions as well (ii). This also marks the source (iii), and the comparandum in a comparative construction (iv). All of these functions of the ABL case are found throughout the Turkic languages of Siberia. A further function in Tyvan however is optionally to mark the agent in certain passives (v). A partitive meaning is expressed by the ABL in Tyvan as well (vi); in this function, an indefinite construction is sometimes meant. The ABL may also be governed by various postpositions (vii).

(19) i. *šay ayaktan aža berdi*
tea bowl-ABL spill-CV INCH-PAST.II
'the tea began to spill from the bowl'

olar ırak čerden čedip kelgenner
they far land-ABL reach-CV CLOC-PAST.I-PL
'they came from a distant land'

ii. *Martan-Ool mart aydan sentyabr' ayga čedir Kızılga čurttap turgan*
M-O March month-ABL September month-DAT until K-DAT live-CV AUX-PAST.I
'Martan-Ool was living in Kyzyl from March until September'

iii. *damdıdan dalay büder*
drop-ABL sea form-P/F
'from (rain)drops the sea is formed'

ol menden čagaa algan
s/he I-ABL letter take-PAST.I
'he got a letter from me'

idiimni xömden kılgan
boot-1-ACC leather-ABL make-PAST.I
'(He) made my boots from leather'

iv. *ol kiži menden uluy*
that person I-ABL big
'that person is bigger than me'

v. *ežimden meŋee bayır čedirtken boldu*
friend-1-ABL I-DAT greetings send-PAST.I AUX-PAST.II
'my friend had sent me greetings' (I & P 1961: 136)

vi. *karandaštan berem šaydan ižer men aškadan berem*
pencil-ABL give-POL tea-ABL drink-P/F 1 money-ABL give-POL
'give me some pencils' 'I'll drink some (of the) tea' 'give me some money'

vii. *orus dıldan öske kandıg dıldar bilir sen ?*
Rus.language-ABL other which langauge-PL know-P/F you
Besides Russian, what languages do you know?

The accusative ACC case (*onaarinıŋ padeži*) in Tyvan performs several functions. ACC case is not automatically assigned to direct objects in Tyvan (i). Rather, its primary function is to mark definiteness or specificity on direct objects (ii-v). It may also mark the subject in certain types of subordinate clauses (v), as well as the predicate itself in other types of subordinate clauses, see **2.2.3** below for examples. A third person possessive accusative can be used as a type of expressive vocative (vi). In some dialects a causee may be marked ACC (vii) instead of the more normal DAT, see below.

(20) i. *men nom nomčudum*
I book read-PAST.II-1
'I read a book'

men nomnu nomčudum
I book-ACC read-PAST.II-1
'I read the book'

ii. *men bo nomnu nomčudum*
I this book-ACC read-PAST.II-1
'I read this book'

iii. *bo ulus meni bilir*
this people I-ACC know-P/F
'these people know me'

iv. *dayrı tuneldep erter bis*
mountain-ACC tunnel-VSF-CV pass.through-P/F we
We will go through the mountain by tunnel.

v. *Sveta kelze, meni udavas čedip kelir dep damčidiŋar*
S. come-CON I-ACC soon reach-CV CLOC-P/F COMP tell-IMP.PL
'if/when Sveta comes, tell her I'll return soon' (Sh 1993: 65)

vi. *A-a orussu-un*
Oh Russian-3.ACC
'oh, the Russian' (Ch 1984: 55)

ee meeŋ oglumnuŋ erezin
hey I-GEN son-1-GEN brave-3.ACC
'hey, my brave son!' (Ch 1984:55)

vii. *baški öören(ik)čilerni nomčudup kaapkan*
teacher student-PL-ACC read-CAUS-CV AUX-PERF-PAST.I
'the teacher made the students read'

The ALL case (*uglaarinıŋ padeži*) stands out among the Tyvan cases in several ways. First it basically has one function, marking direction towards a location. ALL may also be used to denote motion around an object (v). There are two variants of this affix found in the standardized register, /+Je/ and /-DIvA/ (vi, obsolete), the former of which lacks vowel harmony. Old Turkic had the case category ALL, but, as in Xakas, the Old Turkic marker of the ALL has been preserved only in various lexicalized adverbs *daškaar* 'to outside', *iškeer* '(to)below, (to) inside', *soŋgaar* 'back, to the north', etc. The origin of the ALL case marker in -Je is generally attributed by Tyvan linguists to the word *čak* 'moment', which does little to explain its unusual allomorphy.[12]

[12] It is also possible that the ALL case marker in +Je in Tyvan is etymologically related to the prosecutive/equative case in Xakas in /-JA/, cf. Tyvan /-GIže/, Xakas /-GAnčA/ subordinate clause type, see **3.3** below. The affix in /-DIvA/ is considered (IP 1961) to be related to a range of postpositions found in other Turkic languages with similar semantics, though governing the DAT case in all of them, e.g. Kazakh *üyge taman* 'towards the yurt', Kumyk

(21) i. *men kadayım=bile kinože čoruk baar men*
I wife-1=INS movies-ALL go-CV! AUX-P/F 1
'I'm going with my wife to the movies'

ii. *daarta men Kızılje azı Abakanče čoruur men*
tomorrow I K-ALL or A-ALL go-P/F 1
'tomorrow I'm going to Kyzyl or Abakan' (B 242)

iii. *ol kiži kartinaže amda körbüšaan*
that person picture-ALL now/still look-CNT
'he keeps looking at the picture'

iv. *öörenikči čorukče körgeš xarılaan*
student drawing-ALL look-CV answer-PAST.I
'the student, having looked at the drawing, answered'

v. *bis Süt-Xölče dolganıp čoraan bis*
we Milk.lake-ALL go.around-CV go-PAST.I we
'We went around Milk lake'

vi. *Bora teynıŋ kırındıva üne xaldı bergeš xarap körüp*
B. hill-GEN top-3-ALL.II come.out-CV jump.up-CV AUX-CV look-CV see-CV

olurarga, xem aksında ıš buruŋaynıp turup-tur
AUX-P/F-DAT river mouth-3-LOC smoke swirl-CV AUX-EVID.PAST
'going up to the top of Bora hill, he looked and saw that smoke was swirling about at the river-mouth' (L 77)

As in many languages possessing such a case, one of the primary functions of the dative DAT case (*beeriniŋ padeži*) in Tyvan is to mark a recipient or otherwise 'indirect' object (i). The DAT case also marks an overtly expressed causee in causative formations derived from transitive verbs (ii), as well as an overtly expressed agent in passive formations (iii). Also, Tyvan has a Yakut-like use of the DAT where one might expect the LOC. However, unlike Saxa (Yakut), which lacks a synchronic LOC case entirely, Tyvan does have a LOC case but uses it to mark location in a place only in the present tense. In the past and future, the DAT is required in this function (iv). Sometimes, one finds a directional use of the DAT, instead of the expected ALL case (in one of its variants) (v). The DAT case also marks the experiencer subject with certain adjectival predicates (vi, vii, viii). The DAT case is required on the object of various adjectival predicates as well (viii, ix, x, xi). DAT-marked present-future participle forms may also function as infinitival complements for some Tyvan speakers (xii). Finally, DAT marked possessors may be found on occasion in Tyvan (xiii).

(22) i. *men ol kižige nom berdim*
I s/he-DAT book give-PAST.II-1
'I gave him a book'

men àtka sigen berdim
I horse-DAT hay give-PAST.I-1
'I gave hay to the horse'

ii. *baškı nomnu öörenikčilerge nomčutkan*

bazarga taba 'upto the bazaar', Shor *men kaya(g)a tebe attım* 'I shot towards the cliff', or Tatar *urmanga taba* 'towards the forest'.

teacher book-ACC student-PL-DAT read-CAUS-PAST.I
'the teacher made the students read the book' (B 43)

ačamga tool čugaaladıp alıyn
father-DAT story say-CAUS-CV SBEN-F.II.1
'I'll get my dad to tell a story'

iii. *akımga etedip aldım*
elder.brother-DAT beat-CAUS-CV SBEN-PAST.I
'I was beaten by my elder brother'

iv. *avam bažıŋda* / mother-1 house-LOC / 'my mother is at home'
avam bažıŋga tur(u)gan / mother-1 house-DAT AUX-PAST.I / 'my mother was at home'

avam bažıŋga turar
mother-1 house-DAT AUX-P/F
'my mother will be at home'

v. *bažınıa četkelek čorumda čàs čap keldi*
house-DAT reach-UNACMPL AUX-1-LOC rain precipitate-CV AUX-PAST.II
'I didn't get home (before) the rain started'(E 69)

vi. *biske bildingir eves*
we-DAT known not
'(it) is unknown to us'

vii. *meŋee nom xerek*
I-DAT book necessary
I need a book.

viii. *bistiŋ suuruvus silerge taarzınarga, meŋee öörünčüg boldu*
we-GEN village-1PL y'all-DAT be.satisfied-P/F-DAT I-DAT happy be-PAST.II
'I was happy that you liked our village' (Ch 123)

ix. *ol bažıŋ kılıringa salımnıg*
he house make-CAUS-P/F-3-DAT talent-ADJ
'He knows how to build houses'

x. *men kıška ınak eves men*
1 winter-DAT favorite not 1
'I don't like winter'

xi. *iyige iyi deŋ* / two-DAT two equal / 'two equals two'
iyige üš deŋ eves / two-DAT three equal not / 'three does not equal two'

xii. *Süt-Xöl xöldü köörge dika čaraš diin.*
Milk.Lake lake-ACC see-DAT very beautiful DISC
'the lake at Milk Lake is very beautiful to look at, you know'

xiii. *biske tarɨlga šölü čok turgan*
we-DAT sowing field-3 no AUX-PAST.I
'we didn't have (any) sowing-fields'(Sereedar 1995: 69)

The genitive GEN case in Tyvan (*xamaaarištɨrarɨnɨŋ padeži*) also has several functions. It is the primary means of marking the possessor in a possessive construction (i), followed by a noun in the possessed form (indexing the person/number of the possessor). The GEN case can also serve as the subject of the certain types of subordinate clauses in Tyvan (iv), including in clauses analogous to relative clauses in other languages (v). With pronominal stems, the GEN may be used before the instrumental clitic *=bile* (v). The GEN may serve as the subject of a nominalized intransitive verb.

(23) i. *baškɨnɨŋ bažɨŋɨ* *ačamnɨŋ boozu*
teacher-GEN house-3 father-1-GEN gun-3
'the teacher's house' 'my father's gun'

ii. *čamdɨk školanɨŋ baškɨlarɨ*
several school-GEN teacher-PL-3
'several teachers of the school'

iii. *Kuran-Dagnɨŋ edeende ɨrak eves čerde*
K.-D.-GEN summit-3-LOC far not place-LOC
'in a place not far from summit of Kuran-Dag' (UL 1986: 211)

iv. *dayɨnnɨŋ čüge egeleenin* *bilbes men*
war-GEN why begin-PAST-3.ACC know-NEG.P/F I
'I don't know why the war started' (Ch 1984: 70)

v. *bistiŋ düün čoraan čerivis čaraš boldu*
we-GEN yesterday go-PAST.I place-1PL beautiful be-PAST.II
'The place (that) we went yesterday was beautiful'

vi. *silerniŋ=bile* *sümeležirdir men*
you-PL-GEN=INS consult-RECIP-P/F-EVID 1
'I would like to ask your advice'

vii. *öörenikčilerniŋ* *čedip* *keliri*
student-PL-GEN reach-CV come-P/F-3
'the arrival of the students'

The locative LOC case (*turarɨnɨŋ padeži*) in Tyvan may express location, in, on, at, etc. in the present tense only (i). An extension of this is location in time; note, however, that time expressions take the LOC in the past tense, while place expressions are in LOC (ii). With pronouns and nominals with animate reference, the meaning is generally 'on someone's person' , 'at someone's house', etc. In some dialects this has extended to mean simple possession, analogous to the Russian *u* X-GEN 'by X' possessive construction (iii, iv).

(25) i. *men Kɨzɨlda čurttap tur men*
I Kyzyl-LOC live-CV AUX I
'I live/ am living in Kyzyl'

ii. *men bir muŋ tos čüs dörten čɨlda Fevraldɨŋ čeerbide Kɨzɨl xoorayga törtüngen men*
I 1 1000 9 100 forty year-LOC Feb-GEN 20-LOC K. city-DAT be.born.-PAST.I 1
'I was born on Feb 20, in 1940, in Kyzyl'

iii. *Mergende solun nomnar bar*
M-LOC interesting book-PL COP
'Mergen has some interesting books (at his place)'

iv. *mende üš akɨm čok* *mende üš nom bar*
I-LOC three older.brother-1 NEG.COP I-LOC three book COP
'I don't have three older brothers' 'I have three books'

Two appositional or conjoined nouns generally show the case of the noun phrase only on the rightmost element.

(26) i. *iyi xonganda, Badɨy akɨmdan aytɨrdɨm*
two spend.night-PAST.I-LOC B. older.brother-ABL ask-PAST.II-1
'when two days had passed, I asked my older brother Badɨy' (Ch 1984: 144)

ii. *a aktar=bile kɨzɨldarnɨŋ ɨlaŋgɨya olarnɨŋ Tɨvada kelgeninɨŋ*
and/but white-PL=INS red-PL-GEN especially they-GEN Tyva-LOC come-PAST.I-3-GEN

dugayɨnda čugaalaar čonnu kɨčeendiripken
about-3-LOC speak-P/F people-ACC warn.against-PERF-PAST.I
'they warned the people against talking especially about that the whites and reds came to Tyva'(Ch 1984: 170)

iii. *Goša=bile Genanɨ iyildirzin kɨygɨrɨp ekkel*
G=INS G-ACC both-3.ACC call-CV AUX
'call both Gosha and Gena' (L 1989: 65)

However, certain appositional NPs (27) as well as certain quantifiers, such as postposed uses of *šuptu-* 'all' (e.g. with pronouns) may show full case marking (28).

(27) *čonnuŋ ɨlaŋgɨya uluzumnuŋ čurttap turarɨn=daa bildim*
people-GEN especially people-1-GEN live-CV AUX-P/F-3.ACC=EMPH know-PAST.II-1
'I learned how people, especially my people, live'(Ch 1984: 11)

(28) *nomnu nomčaaš, ol kɨžɨniŋ čurttalgazɨn šuptuzun bilip aldɨm*
book-ACC read-CV that person-GEN life-3.ACC all-3.ACC know-CV SBEN-PAST.II-1
'having read the book, I found out everything about that person's life'

2.1.1.5 Possession

Among the salient characteristics of Tyvan nominal morphology is the indexing of the person/number of the possessor on the possessum. The form of the affix is determined by the phonological shape of the stem. The basic form for the first person singular is /-(I)m/, the second person singular /-(I)ŋ/, and the third person /-(z)I/. PL affixes are /-IvIs/, /-IŋAr/ and /-(z)I/. Tyvan belongs to the set of languages that overtly mark both the possessor and possessum in possessive constructions. The possessor appears in the GEN

case followed by the possessum in the possessed form, which indexes the person/number of the possessor.

(29)	SG	1.POSS	2.POSS	3.POSS	gloss
	xap	*xavɨm*	*xavɨŋ*	*xavɨ*	'bag'
	àt	*àdɨm*	*àdɨŋ*	*àdɨ*	'horse'
	küš	*küžüm*	*küžüŋ*	*küžü*	'strength, power'
	kas	*kazɨm*	*kazɨŋ*	*kazɨ*	'goose'
	teve	*tevem*	*teveŋ*	*tevezi*	'camel'
	öškü	*öškümm*	*öškümŋ*	*öškümzü*	'goat'
	xol	*xolum*	*xoluŋ*	*xolu*	'hand'
	ay	*ayɨm*	*ayɨŋ*	*ayɨ*	'moon'
	dayɨn	*dayɨnɨm*	*dayɨnɨŋ*	*dayɨnɨ*	'war'

	1PL.POSS	2PL.POSS	3PL.POSS	
	xavɨvɨs	*xavɨŋar*	*xavɨ*	'bag'
	àdɨvɨs	*àdɨŋar*	*àdɨ*	'horse'
	küžüvüs	*küžüŋer*	*küžü*	'strength, power'
	kazɨvɨs	*kazɨŋar*	*kazɨ*	'goose'
	tevevis	*teveŋer*	*tevezi*	'camel'
	öškümüs	*öškümŋer*	*öškümzü*	'goat'
	xoluvus	*xoluŋar*	*xolu*	'hand'
	ayɨvɨs	*ayɨŋar*	*ayɨ*	'moon'
	dayɨnɨvɨs	*dayɨnɨŋar*	*dayɨnɨ*	'war'

Some nouns exhibit allomorphic stem-variation in the possessive, usually a high vowel dropping out between a consonant and a following *-n*. Compare, however, the forms of 'war' above with the forms meaning 'game' and 'neck' below, suggesting this is not a phonological rule, but rather a morpholexically conditioned alternation.

(30)	SG	1POSS	2POSS	3POSS	gloss
	oyun	*oynum*	*oynuŋ*	*oynu*	'game'
	moyun	*moynum*	*moynuŋ*	*moynu*	'neck'
	arɨn	*arnɨm*	*arnɨŋ*	*arnɨ*	'face'
	orun	*ornum*	*ornuŋ*	*ornu*	'place'
	kelin	*kennim*	*kenniŋ*	*kenni*	'bride'
	kulun	*kunnum*	*kunnuŋ*	*kunnu*	'colt'
	egin	*ektim*	*ektiŋ*	*ekti*	'shoulder'

Note that in the speech of younger Kyzyl speakers, the vowel loss and consonant alternation has been lost with certain stems, e.g. *oyunum, oyunuŋ, oyunu*, 'my/your his game' *kelinim, keliniŋ, kelini* 'my, your, his bride' or *kulunum, kulunuŋ, kulunu* 'my, your, his/her colt'.

Disyllabic stems ending in a velar/uvular sound lose this in possessed forms, and lengthen the preceding vowel. Monosyllabic forms lose a voiced velar but retain a voiceless one (compare 'yurt' and 'glottis')

(31)	SG	1POSS	2POSS	3POSS	gloss
	tavak	*tavaam*	*tavaaŋ*	*tavaa*	'plate'
	uruʁ	*uruum*	*uruuŋ*	*uruu*	'child'
	balɨk	*balɨɨm*	*balɨɨŋ*	*balɨɨ*	'fish'
	biliɣ	*biliim*	*biliiŋ*	*bilii*	'understanding'
	belek	*beleem*	*beleeŋ*	*belee*	'gift'
	öɣ	*ööm*	*ööŋ*	*öö*	'yurt'
	ök	*öɣüm*	*öɣüŋ*	*öɣüŋ*	'glottis'

Some nouns have a synchronically opaque alternation, with the unpossessed simplex form representing a later historical form than the possessed forms, which in turn are closer to the historically original forms:

(32)	SG	1POSS	2POSS	3POSS	gloss	
	aas	*aksɨm*	*aksɨŋ*	*aksɨ*	'mouth'	(<*aɣɨz)
	ool	*oglum*	*ogluŋ*	*oglu*	'son'	(<*oɣul)
	bört	*börɣüm*	*börɣüŋ*	*börɣü*	'cap'	(<*börk)
vs.	*ööš*	*ööžüm*	*öözüŋ*	*öözü*	'esophagous'	
	dört	*dörtüm*	*dörtüŋ*	*dörtü*	'four'	

Possessive markers precede case markers in Tyvan, each category realized by the appropriate phonologically conditioned allomorph. In one instance however, a special type of possessive case inflection is found, the third person possessed ACC in *-(z)In*, not ***-(z)InI*. The expected *-nI* is found in the first and second persons.

(33)						
		nomum	*nomuŋ*	*nomu*	*nomuvus*	*nomuŋar*
	ABL	*nomumdan*	*nomuŋdan*	*nomundan*	*nomuvustan*	*nomuŋardan*
	ACC	*nomumnu*	*nomuŋnu*	*nomun*	*nomuvustu*	*nomuŋarnɨ*
	ALL	*nomumje*	*nomuŋje*	*nomunje*	*nomuvusče*	*nomuŋarže*
	DAT	*nomumɣa*	*nomuŋɣa*	*nomunɣa*	*nomuvuska*	*nomuŋarɣa*
	GEN	*nomumnuŋ*	*nomuŋnuŋ*	*nomunuŋ*	*nomuvustuŋ*	*nomuŋarnɨŋ*
	LOC	*nomumda*	*nomuŋda*	*nomunda*	*nomuvusta*	*nomuŋarda*
		'my book'	'your book'	'her book'	'our book'	'y'all's book'

There are a few additional constructions which mark possession in Tyvan. The first of these is the predicative/contrastive possessive P/CP affix -NII, which corresponds to the use of similar forms in English e.g. *mine, yours, hers, Mary's*, as in *that book is mine, this book is Mary's*, or *Mergen took yours*. Note that nouns with this affix in Tyvan decline like (third person) possessed nouns:

(34) i. *bo nom Marianɨɨ* — *Mergen Čečekmaanɨɨn körgen*
this book M-P/CP — M. C.-P/CP-3.ACC see-PAST.I
'this book is Mary's' — 'Mergen saw Chechekmaa's'

ii. *men üš oolduu men*

I three son-P/CP 1
'I have three sons'

iii. *ol bistiinče xünnüg kelir čüve*
he we-P/CP-3-ALL day-ADJ come-P/F thing
'he comes to us (lit. ours) daily' (B 132)

The second formation involves the derivational affix /-LIg/, which productively forms adjective-like nominal modifiers, e.g. *baštıg* 'with a head, having a head' *balıglıg* 'wounded', *kök baštıg* 'gray-haired'; this may attach to forms already marked plural.

(35) i. *ìdım čok, men diistıŋ men* — *men beš àttıg men*
dog-1 not 1 cat-ADJ 1 — I 5 horse-ADJ 1
'I don't have a dog, I have a cat' — 'I have five horses'

ii. *bičii piyoner, sumkalıŋ bir xolunda, moynunda galstuktuŋ*
small pioneer bag-ADJ one hand-3-LOC neck-3-LOC scarf-ADJ
A small pioneer, with a bag in one hand, with a scarf on (her) neck.

The third formation involves the LOC case and in standardized Tyvan is generally used to mean 'at X's home/place' or 'on X's person', rather than simple possession like the two formations mentioned previously.

(36) i. *mende üš akım bar*
I-LOC three older.brother-1 COP
'I have three older brothers'

ii. *mende üš nom čok* — *mende üš ool čok*
I-LOC three book NEG.COP — I-LOC three son NEG.COP
'I don't have three books' — 'I don't have three sons'

Yet another way of showing possession is to combine possessive pronouns and a noun with a person ending.

(37) *meeŋ üš oglum čok* — *meeŋ beš àdım čok* — *meeŋ beš àdım čok turgan*
I-GEN three son-1 NEG.COP — I-GEN five horse-1 NEG.COP — I-GEN five horse-1 NEG.COP AUX-PAST.I
'I don't have 3 sons' — 'I don't have 5 horses' — 'I didn't have 5 horses'

Possessive markers also play a role in Tyvan in the so-called *izafet* constructions. In the Turkological literature *izafet* refers to a formation representing a subtype of compounding. Generally these consist of two nominal stems, the first of which is in the unmarked form, and the second in the (third) possessive form.

(38) *daŋ bàžı* — *xam xevi*
morning head-3 — shaman clothing-3
'early morning' — 'a shaman's clothing'

These contrast with 2-part noun + noun possessive formations. In *izafet*, the first component has no case marking, while in possessive formations, it takes GEN case

(39) *ol kižiniŋ adı* — *ačamnıŋ mašinazı*
s/he-GEN name-3 — father-1-GEN car-3

'her name' — 'my father's car'

dilgi keži 'fox fur' vs' *dilginiŋ keži* 'the fur of the fox' or *àat bažı* 'a horse-head' *àattıŋ bažı* 'the horse's head, the head of the/this horse'. GEN case may thus be assigned optionally to add a particular semantic nuance. But if a modifier intervenes between the first and second part of the compound, the GEN case becomes obligatory: *dilginiŋ čımčak keži* 'soft fur of the fox'. Such *izafet* constructions are particularly common with auxiliary nouns in Tyvan, see **2.1.5** below.

In *izafet* constructions with an overt modifier, the difference between simple possessed formations and *izafet* formations is neutralized, and GEN marking on the first noun is obligatory. If the first noun is in the unmarked form, a less specific/definite referent is intended, while when the first member is marked by the GEN case, a more definite or specific referent is implied. The distinction is neutralized when an intervening modifier is present, in which case the GEN suffix on the first member is obligatory.

(24) *dilginiŋ čımčak keži* — *inektiŋ sook südü*
fox-GEN soft fur-3 — cow-GEN cold milk-3
'soft fox fur' — 'cold cow milk' (IP 1961: 122)

2.1.2 Pronouns
2.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns

In Tyvan there are two numbers and three persons. The singular pronouns (*at ornu*) show a number of peculiarities in declension, while the plural pronouns behave as regular nouns. The third singular pronoun is identical to the demonstrative 'that'.

(40)

	men	sen	ol	bis(ter)	siler	olar
ACC	meni	seni	onu	bisti	silerni	olarnı
GEN	meeŋ	seeŋ	ooŋ	bistiŋ	silerniŋ	olarnıŋ
DAT	me(ŋe)e	se(ŋe)e	a(ŋa)a	biske	silerge	olarga
LOC	mende	sende	ında	biste	silerde	olarda
ABL	menden	senden	oon	bisten	silerden	olardan
ALL	menje	senje	olje	bisče	silerje	olarje

In some dialects (esp. Kyzyl) *bister* is almost always used instead of *bis* in the basic form. Also, *ol kiži*--with a regular declension like *kiži*--is used more frequently than *ol* alone for the third singular pronoun. Correspondingly, one sometimes hears *ol ulus* or even *ol ulustar* for *olar*:

(41) i. *men ol kižige nom berdim* — *olar ol kižini kördü*
I s/he-DAT book give-PAST.II-1 — they s/he-ACC see-PAST.II
'I gave him a book' — 'they saw her'

ii. *ol kižiniŋ adı* — *ol ulus čedip keer*
s/he-GEN name-3 — that people reach-CV CLOC-P/F
'her name' — 'they will come'

iii. *men oldan čagaa algan men* — *men oon čagaa aldım*
I s/he-ABL letter take-PAST.I 1 — I 3.ABL letter take-PAST.II-1

'I got a letter from him'[13] 'I got a letter from him'

iv. *ol ulustar oynap egeley bergen* *bister amda kelbeedivis*
that people-PL play-CV begin-CV INCH-PAST.I we-PL yet come-NEG-PAST.II-1PL
'they began to play' 'we haven't come yet'

The GEN case forms *meeŋ* and *seeŋ*, i.e. the overt markers of first and second person singular possessor, are generally found only in when the person of the possessor is emphasized, the possessive suffix itself being normally considered sufficient to mark the possessive in these constructions. Third person pronominal possessors (GEN forms *ooŋ ~ ol kižiniŋ* and *olarniŋ*) appear more frequently, but still optionally. As for first and second plural possessors, the GEN form *bistiŋ* and *silerniŋ* are (almost) always found, often without the following noun bearing an overt indication of the person/number of the possessor. Thus one usually says *tevem* 'my camel' rather than *meeŋ tevem* and *bistiŋ teve* rather than *bistiŋ tevevis* our camel'. Note that the predicative possessor suffix in /-NII/ attaches to the GEN form of singular pronouns and the unmarked form of plural pronouns, e.g. *meeŋii, seeŋii, ooŋuu, bistii, silernii, olarnii;* in all instances, however, these decline like third person possessed nouns, i.e. have *-n-* inserted between the stem and the case marker (before most endings) and also show the special 3.ACC allomorph in -In, e.g. *ol bistiin körgen* 'he saw ours', *bo nom meeŋii* 'this book is mine'.

2.1.2.2 Demonstratives

The basic set of demonstratives in Tyvan consists of *bo* 'this', *ol* 'that', and *döö* (~ *düü ~ duu ~ doo*) 'that one there'. The irregular declension of *ol* can be found above. *bo* and *döö* (obsolete) both have irregular declensions as well; note the vowel and consonants alternations characteristic of the case forms of these demonstratives, e.g. *bo,* ABL *moon,* ACC *monu,* ALL *bože,* DAT *maŋaa,* GEN *mooŋ,* LOC *mında* ; *döö* LOC *döön*, ACC *döönü*, ALL *döözе*, DAT *dügee*, GEN *döөŋ* , LOC *dügde*. Possessed forms of demonstratives 'my this', 'your that', etc. are also found, e.g. *moom, mooŋ, moozu, moovus, mooŋar, moozu; oom, ooŋ, oozu, oovus, ooŋar, oozu..*

(42) *oomga barıp xonup alır men*
that-1-DAT go-CV spend.night-CV SBEN-P/F 1
'I go to mine and spend the night'. (IP 1961: 235)

There are a variety of adverbial demonstative forms based on the oblique stems (*mın-, ın-*), for example *mındıg* 'this way, thus' , *ındıg* 'that way, thus', *ındıg-mındıg* 'various'; *mınča* 'this much' *ınča* 'that much'; *mındaa* 'then', *mındaagı* 'then (adj)'; *mınaar* 'to here', *ınaar* 'to there'. Note also *moon* 'from here', *oon* 'from there'. Certain forms of *döö* also may be used adverbially *döön* 'from over there', *döönde/duunda , döö ında* 'over there', 'over yonder'. In *bögün* 'today' the *bo-* has been fused into the word *xün* 'day' Note also the unusual forms *oortan* 'from there', *bortta* '(to) here', *oortta* 'there, then' which may have fused demonstratives in them as well.

Emphatic sentences may have more than one demonstrative.

[13] Note the replacement of the irregular ABL form *oon* with a more 'regular' form in the speech of this semi-speaker from Kyzyl.

(43) *men bo mında ažıldap turar men*
I this there work-CV AUX-P/F 1
'I work right here'

In emphatic, semi-rhetorical questions, a demonstrative (*ol* or *bo*) may appear after the verb. In some instances, these are emphatic or discourse markers that signal politeness (see **2.1.2.4** and **3.4** below).

(44) *kaynaar baarıŋ ol?*
to.where go-P/F-2 DEM
'where are you going?'

Tyvan also possesses a set of verb stems based on demonstratives: *mınčaar* 'to do how, to do in this way', *bolaar ~ modaar* 'id.', *döөleer* 'to go on that way', etc.

2.1.2.3 Reflexives

Reflexive pronouns are possessed forms of the stem *bot-* 'self': *bodum, boduŋ, bodu, boduvus (~ bottarıvıs) boduŋar, bottarı* . They generally refer to the subject of the clause and serve a variety of functions. For example, in emphatic subject constructions, *men bodum* 'I myself', etc., reflexives are used in a fashion similar to English. But note Krueger (1977: 132) *boduŋnu čiirge* self-2-ACC eat-P/F-DAT 'when I eat you', where reference is not to an overt or implied subject, but to an object.

(45) i. *bodum Kıžılga čurttap turar men*
I K.-DAT live-CV AUX-P/F 1
'I am still living in Kyzyl'

ii. *bodu amıdıral-duxayında čuxaalaan*
self-3 life-about-3-LOC speak-PAST.I
'he spoke about his (own) life'

iii. *boduŋ qadıgıŋ boduŋ xoluŋda*
self-2 health-2 self-2 hand-2-LOC
'your health is in your (own) hands'

iv. *bodum bilbes men*
self-1 know-NEG.P/F 1
'I myself don't know' or 'as for me, I don't know'

v. *kiži-bürüzü bodun bay dep sanaar*
everyone self-ACC rich COMP count-P/F
Everyone considers himself/herself rich.

vi. *kelgen aalčiga bodunuŋ xeleeškinin bildirtpes deeš xölčok kıskan*
come-PAST guest-DAT self-3-GEN agitation-3.ACC know-CAUS-NEG.P/F COMP alot try-PAST.I
'he tried hard not to show the guest his agitation' (M 1987: 88)

vii. *bodu kelir užun bižik ıtpadı*
self-3 come-P/F for letter send-NEG-PAST.II
'because he intended to come himself, he didn't send a letter' (Sh 1993: 72)

2.1.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns

The basic interrogative pronouns in Tyvan are:

(46)	*kim*	'who'	*čüü*	'what'
	čüge	'why'	*čüden*	'from what'
	čeže	' how many'	*kàš*	'how much/many'
	kandig	'how, which'	*kayı ~ kay(ı)zı*	'which'
	kayda	'where'	*kayaa ~ kaynaar*	'to where'
	kažan	'when'	*kayın ~ kayınrtan*	'from where'.

(47) i. *sen kim dir sen dep didi*
you who-EMPH you COMP say-PAST.II.3
' "Who are you?" he asked'

ii. *šak kàštır* / time how.much-EVID / What time is it?
kayın kelgen siler / whence come-PAST.I you / 'Where have you come from?'

iii. *sen kàš xarlig sen* / you how.many year-ADJ 2 / How old are you?
bažıŋ kayı-xire uluy / house how.(much) big / How big is the house?

iv. *kayaa čorduŋ* / to.where go-PAST.II-2 / Where did you go (to)?
kaynaar baarıŋ ol / where.to go-P/F-2 DISC / Where are you going?

Frequently, one finds the interrogative / deictic /-Il/ (< *ol) enclitic to the final word in the clause (i.e. the head), which may be the interrogative pronoun itself. (See also 3.4.)

(48) *adıŋ-šolaŋ kimil* / name-2 nickname-2 who-I/D / What's your name (or nickname)?
örtee kàžıl / price-3 how.much-I/D / How much does (it) cost?

Tyvan also has a system of interrogative verbs based on *kančaar* 'what do/be': (IP 231) *kančap tur* 'what is s/he doing', *kančaldıŋ* 'what did you do', *kančangannar* 'what did they do', *kančaar siler* 'what will y'all do'.

2.1.2.5 Indefinite Pronouns

Standardized Tyvan possesses several types of indefinite pronominal forms. Indefinite specific reference is usually marked by the particle *bir-le* followed by a noun, e.g. *kiži* 'person' *čüve* 'thing' or *čer* 'place', e.g. *bir-le* 'sometimes' *bir-le kiži* 'someone', *bir-le čüve* 'something', *bir-le čerže* 'to somewhere', *bir-le čerge/čerde* 'somewhere', *bir-le čerden* 'from somewhere', *bir-le šagda* 'sometime'; note *bir kiži* 'some guy' *čamdık-bir kižiler* 'some guys', and *kayda-čüde* (rare) 'somewhere'. Indefinite non-specific reference is usually marked by an interrogative pronoun followed by an enclitic *-bir* followed by a noun, e.g *kayı-bir kiži* 'anyone', *kayı-bir čüve* 'anything', *kayı-bir šagda* 'anytime', *kažan-bir šagda* 'anytime', *kandig-bir* 'any (kind of), *kandig-bir čüve* 'anything' *kayı-bir čerge/čerde* 'anywhere', but *kaynaar-bir čerže* 'to anywhere'.

In addition, the construction consisiting of an interrogative pronoun + the emphatic *=daa* + *bolza*, the conditional of 'be', can be used in this function as well: *kim=daa bolza* 'anyone' In vernacular Tyvan, *čamdık* is most commonly used with an accompanying noun, appearing either preposed as a modifier or postposed in a possessed form (with the stem allomorph *čamdıı*, i.e. *čamdıızı-*).

(49) i. *čok, čügle südüŋnüŋ čamdıızın ižeyn*
no only milk-2-GEN some-3.ACC drink-1.IMP
'no, I'll only drink some of your milk'

ii. *törelderim čamdıızı keldi be*
relative-PL-1 some-3 come-PAST.II Q
'did some/any of my relatives come?'

iii. *bir kiži keldi* / one person come-PAST.II / 'a (certain) person came'
bir-le kiži keldi / one=EMPH person / come-PAST.II / 'some person came'

iv. *čamdık kižiler čoraj berdi* / some person-PL go-CV INCH-PAST.II / 'some people have already left'
ulus keldi / people come-PAST.II / '(some) people came'

v. *bir-le kattap bir kiži čuyaalaan*
one-EMPH time one person say-PAST.I
Once, a (certain) person said.

2.1.2.6 Quantitative Pronouns

In Tyvan, one of the common forms functioning as a quantitative pronoun is a possessed form of *čamdık* 'some', e.g. *čamdıvıs* 'some of us'. Corresponding to pronouns of the type 'everyone', 'noone', Tyvan utilizes a combination of interrogative pronouns followed by the emphatic clitic *=daa*. In sentences with positive verbs, these mean 'everyone' or 'everything', etc., with negative verbs, 'noone, nothing'.

(50) i. *kim=daa onu bilir* / who=EMPH 3.ACC know-P/F / 'Everybody knows him'
kim=daa kelbeen / who=EMPH come-NEG-PAST.I / 'Noone came'

ii. *čaŋgızı=daa kelbe(e)di* / one-3=EMPH come-NEG-PAST.II / Noone came
kaynaar=daa barbas men / where-EMPH go-NEG.P/F 1 / I'm not going anywhere

Note that the case affix comes between the interrogative pronoun and the clitic *=daa*: *kimnıŋ=daa* who-GEN=EMPH 'of anyone / of noone'.

The combination of a noun followed by *bolgan-na* or *bolgani-la* creates a construction with the meaning 'each, every' in Tyvan. Etymologically, this consists of a past participle of *bol-* 'be' followed by an emphatic clitic. A cognate form is found in Xakas, where the quantifier precedes the noun and does not bear the case inflections:

(51) i. Tyvan: *kiži bolganni-la* / person every-ACC=EMPH / *(or kiži bolganın-na)*

ii. Xakas: *polɣan na* *kɪzɪnɪ*
every=EMPH person -ACC

Another Tyvan quantifier; *bürü* 'each, every' follows the noun, sometimes in an overtly possessed form, e.g. *xün bürü* 'every day', *kiži bürüzü* 'every person':

(53) *bölük-bölük čɨksaaldar* *kudumču bürüzünden keep* *turgulaan*
group-group demonstrator-PL street every-3-ABL come-CV AUX-ITER-PAST.I
'groups of demonstrators kept coming from every street'. (IP 1961: 243)

There are a number of different forms that bear the meaning 'all' in Tyvan. One common one is *bügü* 'all, whole'; this precedes the noun: *bügü čurtta* 'in every country'. Another word meaning 'all' that precedes the noun in Tyvan is *xamɨk*, e.g. *xamɨk čon* 'all the people' or *xamɨktɨŋ murunda* 'before all, everything'. On the other hand, *tödü* 'all' and *šuptu* 'all' may follow the noun, rather than precede it. Other words meaning 'all' in Tyvan include *dooza* 'all' and *dögere* 'all'. In constructions with *šuptu*, a fully marked genitive plus possessive formation may be encountered

(54) i. *südüm* *šuptuzun* *ižer* *sen be*
milk-1 all-3.ACC drink-P/F 2 Q
Will you drink all of my milk?

ii. *baškɨvɨs* *bistiŋ* *šuptuvuska* *ɨnak*
teacher-1PL we-PL all-1PL-DAT favorite
Our teacher likes us all

iii. *olarnɨŋ* *šuptuzundan* *xarɨɨ* *aldɨvɨs*
they-GEN all-3-ABL answer take-PAST.II-1PL
We got an answer from them all'

Note that the quantifier *šuptu* 'all' marked for person/number may trigger the appropriate person/number affix in the verb, even when the understood pronominal in the GEN case is omitted:

(55) *šuptuvus* *dugurуštuvus*
all-1PL agree-PAST.II-1PL
'we all agreed'. (UL 1986:147)

One of the unusual characteristics of *šuptu* in Tyvan is that rather than being used in the constructions above, following the noun in either a genitive or unmarked form, serving as the inflectional head of the noun phrase (i.e. where the case categories are realized), both *šuptu* and the preceding noun may be marked. This thus has the appearance of a type of case-agreement or -concord. Note that in these formations, there may even be a word coming between the case marked noun and *šuptu*. *iyildirzi* 'both' can be used in an analogous fashion as well, postposed and agreeing with the noun in case:

(56) i. *nomnu* *nomčaaš, ol kɨžinɨŋ čurttalgazɨn* *šuptuzun* *bilip* *aldɨm*
book-ACC read-CV he-GEN life-3.ACC all-3.ACC know-CV SBEN-PAST.II-1

Having read this book, I found out everything about his life'

ii. *olarnɨ* *šuptuzun tanɨɨr men*
they-ACC all-3.ACC know-P/F 1
'I know them all'

2.1.3 Numerals

The basic 10 numerals in Tyvan are *bir ~ b(i)ree* '1', *iyi*, '2' *üš* '3', *dört* '4', *beš* '5', *aldɨ* '6', *čedi* '7', *ses* '8', *tos* '9', *on* '10'; 11-19 (and 21-29, etc.) are formed by compounding of *on* '10' (or '20', etc.) and a following number, e.g. *on bir* '11'. The tens are--other than the word for twenty--lexicalized compounds with the second element < **on* '10': *čeerbi* '20', *üžen* '30', *dörten* '40', *bežen* '50', *aldan* '60', *čeden* '70', *sezen* '80', *tozan* '90', *čüs* '100', *iyi čüs* '200', *muŋ* '1000', *üš muŋ ses čüs aldan dört* '3864'. Also, *čaŋgɨs* may be found meaning 'one'.

Although generally used with the singular form of a following noun, (e.g.*beš àt* 'five horses') numerals can sometimes take the PL in various dialects and registers of Tyvan.

(57) i. *iyi ažɨlčɨnnar ažɨldap turgannar*
two worker-PL work-CV AUX-PAST.I-PL
'two workers were working'

ii. *mende üš ugbalarɨm bar*
I-LOC three sister-PL-1 there.is
'I have three sisters'

iii. *mende üš nomnar čok turgan*
I-LOC three book-PL not AUX-PAST.I
'I didn't have three books'

The optional nature of the PL marker also applies to quantifiers like *xöy* 'many', e.g., *xöy nom* 'many books' vs. *xöy nomnar* 'many (different) books'. Other examples of quantifier plus PL are *kàš xünner* how.many day-PL 'how many days' *čüs àttar* 100 horse-PL '100 horses, *tozan inekter* 90 cow-PL 'ninety cows'.

In the standardized register of Tyvan, ordinal numbers are formed using *dugaar* following the number, or less frequently, the suffix -GI: *üš dugaar ~ üškü* 'third' *bir dugaar ~ birgi* 'first', *kaš dugaar* '(the) how many'.

Collective numbers are formed with -AlAA(n): *iyeleen* 'the two together' or 'both' *üželeen* 'the three (of us) together'.

(58) *bis* *iyeleen* *baar* *bis*
we two-COLL go-P/F we
'We two will go (together)'

An obsolete collective marker /-ALdIrzI/ carries a connotation of 'all x of them (together)' *iyeldirzi* 'both of them together' (IP 1961: 210-1).

Repetition of the numeral has a distributive function in Tyvan, e.g. *iyi-iyi* 'two each, two apiece'.

2.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives precede nouns in Tyvan. Many nominal stems can also serve as modifiers, e.g. *demir* 'iron' (noun or adjective), *daš* 'stone', *ɨyaš* 'wood(en), tree', *tɨva* 'Tyva(n)'. Simple adjectives are negated by the post-posed NEG marker *eves*.

(59) i. *tɨva kiži* *berge nom*
tyvan person difficult book
'a Tyvan' 'a difficult book'

ii. *čaa (eves) oruk* *bičii èrgi bažɨŋ*
new NEG road small old house
'a (not) new road' 'a small, old house'

Modifier phrases take a variety of forms. Verbs or verb phrases in (almost) any tense serve as adjectives when they precede a noun, but as verbs when they follow a noun (iii-iv).[14]

(60) i. *öške saar kiži* vs. *kiži öške saar*
goat milk-P/F person person goat milk-P/F
'a goat-milking person' 'a person will milk a goat'

ii. *bilip alɨrɨn berge nom*
know-CV SBEN-P/F-3.ACC difficult book
a difficult to understand book

iii. *eŋ eki bolgan ažɨlɨm* *maŋnaar lama*
most good be-PAST.I work-1 run-P/F lama
'my most successful (piece of) work' 'a running lama'

iv. *uyaanɨ četpes kiži* *maŋnavas kiži*
mind-3 suffice-NEG.P/F person run-NEG.P/F person
'a mentally deficient person' 'a non-running person'

The most common means of deriving adjectives includes the affix /-LIg/ which forms adjectives denoting possession of the noun or its qualities:

(61) i. *aldar* *aldarlɨg kiži* *aldar čok kiži*
'fame' 'famous person' 'not famous person'

ii. *sen aškalɨg sen be* *bis mašɨnalɨg bis*
you money-ADJ you QUES we car-ADJ we
'Do you have money?' 'We have a car'

iii. *daštɨnda xöy ɨyaštarlɨg bažɨŋda bičii uruglar sadɨ kɨlɨp kaan*
outside-3-LOC many tree-PL-ADJ building-LOC little child-PL garden-3 do-CV AUX-PAST.I
'in a building in the yard of which there are many trees, they made a kindergarten'

Another common formant is /-KI/, *kɨš-kɨ* 'winter(y)'. This frequently attaches to a noun in the locative case to form adjectives, e.g. *Kɨzɨldagɨ teatr* K.-LOC-DC theatre 'the theatre in Kyzyl'. Further examples of adjectival formants can be found in **2.1.6** below.

[14] The PAST.II in -DI can never be used modificationally.

(62) *stol(duŋ) üstündegi nom*
table-GEN top-3-LOC-DC book
'the book on top of the table'

These can be substantivized themselves using possessive inflection:

(63) *men Kɨzɨldagɨlarɨn kördüm*
I K.-LOC-DC-PL-3.ACC see-PAST.II-1
'I saw the ones in Kyzyl'

Comparison is done syntactically in Tyvan. As mentioned above, the *comparandum* appears in the ABL followed by the adjective in comparative formations. There are also various softening particles that can be used to mean 'somewhat, a little bit X-ier' using *aarak*[15], *aray* or *artɨk* 'more', for example (IP 1961: 183) *aray ulug* 'rather big', *ulug aarak* 'rather big, bigger, somewhat big', *artɨk uluɣ* 'bigger' ; the *comparandum* in these forms also appears in the ABL:

(64) *bo argamčɨ döö argamčɨdan uzun aarak*
this lasso that lasso-ABL long a.little.more
this lasso is a little longer than that lasso'

The superlative is formed by preposing *eŋ* 'most' or *eŋne* most-EMPH before the noun: *en(ŋe) ulug* 'biggest'. Superlative may also be marked by a construction X-ABL X, with an adjective in the ABL preceding the unmarked form, i.e. *ekiden eki* '(the) best'. When substantivized, a possessive construction is found: *ekiniŋ ekizi* 'the best of all'

(65) *ɨnčan eŋ ekilerin čɨɨp alɨr bis*
then most good-PL-3.ACC gather-CV SBEN-P/F 1PL
'then we'll collect the best of them'. (Kunaa 1970: 60-1)

Other words that modify adjectives include *dika* 'very', *končuɣ* 'rather', *xölčok* 'extremely', *aa(y)žok, köŋgüs, toŋ, tergin, čidiɣ* 'very, extremely'.

The affix /-zImAAr/ denotes an augmentative: *ulugzumaar* 'biggish', *sarɨgsɨmaar* 'yellowish', *türgenzimeer* 'somwhat fast'. Another augmentative affix is /-Il(dIr)/ *sarɨg* 'yellow' *sargɨl ~ sargɨldɨr* 'somewhat yellow, yellowish'. The affix /(-Iŋ)kIr/ adds intensity: *kɨzɨlgɨr* 'very red' *kɨzɨngɨr* 'extremely (bright) red' *akkɨr* 'very white'.

The comparative (CMP) enclitic /-LA/ adds the meaning -like': *xavan* 'pig' *xavanna* 'pig-like', *süt* 'milk', *sütle* 'milk-like' *kɨp-kɨzɨl* 'very red' *kɨp-la-kɨzɨl* 'very red-like'.

(66) *ol idiktɨɣ men up-la-uzun kiži tömeyleštim*
that boot-ADJ I REDUP=CMP-long person resemble-RECIP-PAST.I.1
'With those boots, I resembled a tall-like person'

Finally, Tyvan intensifies modifiers by reduplication part of the first syllable and adding [-p]: *sap-sarɨɣ* 'very yellow', *ap-ak* 'completely white', *kap-kara* 'completely

[15] Note also the use of this particle in verbal constructions, e.g. (IP 188) *xülümzürüy aarak* smile-CV DIM 'smiling a little, barely smiling'.

black'. This type of expressive $(C_1)V_1$p- reduplication is found in most other Turkic languages as well, e.g. Xakas or Turkish. (See also 1.5 above)

2.1.4.1 Adverbs

Adverbs in Tyvan are uninflectable words that appear preceding the adjective or verb they modify: e.g. *aray* 'barely' *dika* 'very' *eki* 'well', *ara* 'not completely'.

(67) i. *ol oruk dika eki bilir*
he road very well know-P/F
'He knows the road very well'

ol doraan keldi
he right.away come-PAST.II
'He came right away'

ii. *dürgen maŋnaar kiži*
fast run-P/F person
'a fast running person'

dürgen eves maŋnaar kiži
fast NEG run-P/F person
'a not fast running person'

iii. *čadadan aray (dep) čedip keldim*
stairs-ABL barely COMP come-CV CLOC-PAST-II.1
'I barely made it up the stairs'

Some Tyvan adverbs have very close semantics. For example, *čamdıkta, xaaya, birle, birde, birde-birde, iyi-čaŋgıs* all translate as 'sometimes'.

(68) *mašınavıs bir-le ažıldap tur, bir-le ažıldavas.*
car-1PL one-EMPH work-CV AUX one-EMPH work-NEG.P/F
'Our car sometimes works, sometimes doesn't'

Some regular verbs also double as adverbs, or helping verbs. For example, the verb *čedir* 'to reach' has been grammaticalized as an adverb that modifies negative verbs:

(69) *čedir ažıldaan men*
ADV work-PAST.I 1
'I didn't finish working'

čedir töleves men
ADV pay-NEG.P/F 1
'I won't pay all of it'

While uninflectable, many Tyvan adverbs are clearly derived and analyzable into constituent root affixal components or originally phrasal nature: *bögün* 'today' < *bo xün* 'this day'; *soŋgaar* 'back(wards), to the north' < *soŋ* 'end' + /GAAr/, originally probably an ALL case marker lexicalized in this and a few other high frequency forms. Also *küzün* 'during the autumn' < *küs* 'autumn' or *kelir čıl-ın* 'next year' < *čıl* 'year', which both have lexicalized INS case endings; *dıŋnaldır* 'aloud', what looks like a causative[16] of a passive of the verb meaning 'hear, listen'; and *kuškulaštır* 'like a bird' a causative of a reciprocal of a verb derived from a noun (*kušku-la-š-tır*).

The INS clitic (see 3.4.) may attach to various nominal forms to form adjectives that appear in either the unmarked (i) or possessed (ii) form: (I) *küš=bile* 'with force', *maŋ=bile* 'running, on the run'; (ii) *möngezi=bile* 'eternally', *izi=bile* 'after'.

[16] Note in this respect the use of *kıldır* the causative of 'do' as a sort of adverb marker in *eki kıldır* 'well' or *bagay kıldır* 'poorly, badly', when *eki* and *bagay* alone may mean the same thing'.

Many demonstrative forms may function adverbially as well, e.g. *ında* 'there', *mındıg* 'thus'.

2.1.5 Auxiliary nouns and Postpositions

One of the characteristic features of Tyvan morpho-syntax is an extensive system of auxiliary nouns. These perform the same directional, causal, and other functions as do prepositions and postpositions in other languages. While a class of postpositions are found in Tyvan, the formal difference between auxiliary nouns and postpositions is that auxiliary nouns may be used with a preceding noun in the genitive and may themselves index person and number, whereas postpositions may not. Also, the nominal object of the postposition may be in one of several different cases (ABL, ACC, etc.).

2.1.5.1 Auxiliary nouns

Tyvan, like all the Turkic languages, utilizes a set of so-called auxiliary nouns. In general, the first noun may appear in either the unmarked or GEN case, while the second, auxiliary one appears in a possessed form of the case structurally appropriate to the construction e.g. *stol üstünde* 'on (top of) the table' (also *stolduŋ üstünde*). With a pronominal object which is obligatorily in the GEN case, the auxiliary noun agrees in person and number with non-third person objects *bistiŋ soovuska* 'behind us'. The various different case forms allow for the creation of a wide range of complex directional, etc. nuances, e.g. from *adaa* (< *adak*) 'under, lower part' we find *adaanda* 'under' *adaandan* 'from under' *adaanče* 'to under', etc. Auxiliary nouns in common usage include:

(70)

aldı-	'under'	*ara-*	'between'
artı-	'behind'	*baarı-*	'in front of'
bàš	'head'	*bet-*	'on this side of'
daštı-	'outside'	*dugay-*	'about'
ıštı-	'inside	*kıdıı-*	('by/near') 'edge'
kırı-	'on, over, top'	(*soŋ* >) *soo-*	'behind
murnu	'before'	*ortu-*	'middle'
soo	'behind, after'	*söölü-*	'after'
üstü	'over, top'	*xažıı-*	'side'
čanı-	'side'		

To these, possessive case endings are added:

DAT	*-(i)nge*	or	*-(i)nga*
LOC	*-(i)nde*	or	*-(i)nda*
ABL	*-(i)nden*	or	*-(i)ndan*
ALL	*-(i)nže*		

(71) i. *loška stol kırında*
spoon table top-3-LOC
'A/the spoon is on (top of) the table'

ii. *šopulak stol adaa kıdıında*
spoon table lower.part-3 edge-3-LOC
'A/the spoon is at the foot of the table'

iii. *čemnenir murnunda xolun čuur, čemnengen soonda dizin čuur*
eat-P/F before-LOC hand-ACC wash-P/F eat-PAST after-3-LOC tooth-3.ACC wash-P/F

'before eating, wash (your) hands, after eating, clean (your) teeth'

iv. *bis öövüstüŋ čaniŋga kelgeniviste*
we-GEN yurt-1PL-GEN side-3-DAT come-PAST-1PL-LOC
'when we were approaching our yurt' (Ch 1984: 144)

Note that in instances where the auxiliary noun is used without a preceding lexical noun, the resulting form functions as an adverbial, e.g. *daštından köör* '(to) look from outside'.

Probably the most commonly used non-directional auxiliary noun in use in Tyvan is *dugay-* 'about'. With non-transitive predicates, it generally appears in the LOC case:

(72) *čünü dugayında čugaalaan bis*
what about-3-LOC speak-PAST.I we
'What were we speaking about?'

With transitive verbs, it may appear in the accusative case.

(73) *kolxozuŋar dugayın meŋee čugaalap beriŋer*
kolxoz-2PL about-3.ACC I-DAT say-CV BEN-2PL
'Tell me about your kolxoz' (IP 1961: 445)

2.1.5.2 Postpositions

Many postpositions are verbal in origin in Tyvan, representing lexicalized uses of participial forms, converbial forms, or causative forms of verbs. These include *čedir* '(up) to', *deeš* 'because of', *kežildir* 'through, across', *dolgandır* 'around'. Postpositions (*ederinči*) in Tyvan govern a range of different case forms. Postpositions that govern the ABL include *baška, öske, aŋgıda*, all meaning 'besides', 'other than', 'apart from'.

(74) *orus dıldan öske kandıy dıldar bilir sen*
Russian language-ABL besides which language-PL know-P/F you
'Besides Russian, what languages do you know?'

Among those that require a preceding noun or phrase to be in the unmarked form are *ažır/ažıldır* 'across, through', *deeš* and 'due to/for':

(75) i. *dag ažır/ažıldır* *sen deeš keldim*
mountain across you because.of come-PAST.II-1
'across the mountain' 'I came because of you'

ii. *kizildan üngen deeš öörüp tur men*
Kyzyl-ABL go out-PAST.I COMP be.happy-CV AUX 1
'I'm happy to be leaving Kyzyl'

Postpositions such as *kežir ~ kežildir* 'across' and *dolgandır* 'around' govern ACC case:

(76) *xemni kežildir kövürüg turguskan*
river-ACC across bridge build-PAST.I
'They built a bridge across the river'

Postpositions like *čedir* 'up to, until' may govern the unmarked form or DAT case.

(77) *xoorayga čedir*
town-DAT up.to
'(up) to town'

The INS in any of its functions generally appears without a postposition, but at least one requires the preceding noun to be in the INS form, i.e. *X=bile kadı* 'together with'. Some postpositions require a preceding noun to be in the unmarked form but pronouns and demonstratives to be in the GEN:

(78) *ažıl-xerek užun* vs. *mooŋ užun*
work for this-GEN for
'for work' 'for this'

Factors underlying the variability of case assignment by postpositions are as yet unexplored: for example, *yozugaar* 'according to' can govern the possessive accusative or the possessive nominative case:

(79) i. *šın bižilgeniŋ dürümün yozugaar*
right writing-GEN rule -3.ACC according.to
according to the rules of orthography

ii. *men silerniŋ čugaalaaniŋar yozugaar kıldım*
I y'all-GEN say-PAST-2PL according.to do-PAST.II-1
I did as you said (IP 1961: 437)

2.1.6 Nominal Categorizers

Tyvan utilizes a wide array of deverbal and denominal noun-formants. Among the most commonly used affixes are /-Ig/ which forms deverbal nouns,-/-čI/ and-/-KčI/ the agentive noun formants, /-IIškIn/-the most common abstract noun of action formant, as well as various less common ones, e.g. /-KI(I)š/, -m, etc.

(80)

Basic noun or verb		Derived noun	
aytır	'ask'	*aytırıg*	'question'
xülümzüre-	'to smile'	*xülümzürüg*	'smile'
öl-	'to die'	*ölüm*	'death'
balık	'fish'	*balıkčı*	'fisherman'
aŋ	'animal'	*aŋčı*	'hunter'
oožumna-	'to calm down'	*oožumnaaškın*	'calming down'
čılıt-	'to warm up'	*čılıtkıš*	'hot-water bottle'
čulu-	'to shave'	*čuluuš*	'razor'
kör-	'to see'	*körükčü*	'spectator'
		körüüškün	'view(ing)'

Tyvan has borrowed some nominal formants from Mongolian, for example /-čIn/, /-lgA/, /-mAl/, /-ldA/ and--l. These appear with both Mongolian and Turkic roots.

(81)

Basic noun or verb		Derived form with Mongolian affix	
ažıl	'work'	*ažılčın*	'worker'
mal	'livestock'	*malčın*	'herdsman'
bıžı-	'to write'	*bıžımel*	'manuscript'
čoru-	'to go'	*čorumal*	'traveller
boda-	'to think'	*bodal*	'thought'
čemnen-	'to eat'	*čemnenilge*	'nourishment'
kör-	'to see'	*körülde*	'observation'

Possessed forms of participles or derived (adjectival) modifiers also frequently function (or have been lexicalized) as abstract nouns in Tyvan, e.g. *dürgen* 'fast' *dürgeni* 'speed', *kelir* 'come-P/F *keliri* 'arrival'.

Tyvan also makes use of several derivational diminutive affixes. The affix /-čIɣAš/ attaches productively to nouns, proper nouns, and adjectives: *otčuɣaš* 'little fire' (a male given name) *àtčıɣaš* 'little horse' *xünčıɣeš* 'little day' *xölčuɣeš* 'small lake'. Affixes like /-čAk/ and /čIk/ are also common, *xem* 'river' *xemčik* 'creek, stream, rivulet', *kulun* 'colt' *kulunčak* 'little colt', *xöl* 'lake' *xölčük* 'small lake'. Affix /-Ak/ is lexicalized and non-productive: *koygunak* 'bunny'.

Diminutive affix /-BAy/ is added to adjectives and nouns, and given names: *čingis-pay* 'little Chingis', *noɣaan-may* 'green.DIM', *dürgen-mey* 'quick(ly).DIM', *čaraš-pay* 'beautiful-DIM, *diis* 'cat' *diispey* 'kitty'.

The most common adjectival formant is the denominal /-LIg/, roughly 'having or pertaining to the noun'. Examples with this affix include *xoralig* 'dangerous', *kara karaktig* 'black-eyed', *ugaannig* 'smart', *aškalig* 'having money', *čigirlig* 'sweet'.

Other Tyvan adjectival formants are /-Ig/, /-Ik/, /-II/, /-GIr/ and the less frequent /GI-/, /-zAk/, /-(A)AčAl/ and /(I)IčAl/. Examples of these include *ölüg* 'dead', *izig* 'hot'; *čımčak* 'soft', *körünčüktelček* 'mirrored, smooth', *bildinček* 'well-known, understood' (common, productive); *bedik* 'tall', *dilgir* 'eloquent', *sütkür* 'milky, gives a lot of milk', *dıŋnangır* 'keen, attentive'; *čaygı* 'summer(y)', *taygadagı* '(located) in the taiga'; *doŋuučal* 'lightly frozen, *idegeečel* 'trustful'; *aŋzak* 'likes to hunt', *oyunzak* 'likes to play games'.

A productive affix is /-ZIg/ meaning '-like'[17] *kižizig* 'human-like (Adj.)', *čigirzig* 'sweet' (vs. *čigirlig* 'sugary'), *demirzig* 'iron-producing, smelling of (rusted) iron, similar to iron'. Note that /-ZIg/ also seems to function as a clausal clitic:

(83) *kirin kiži aštap kaan-zıg doš xünge čayınnap čıtkan*
top-3.ACC person clean-CV AUX-PAST-ADJ ice sun-DAT shine-CV AUX-PAST.I
'the ice shone in the sun as if a person had cleaned its top'

2.2. Verbal Morphology

2.2.1 Verb

A variety of categories are realized morphologically in the Tyvan verb. These include the person and number of the subject, a range of tense, mood, and aspect categories, and negation. There are a number of different converb and participial forms of verbs in common usage. Tyvan speakers also make use of an extensive system of auxiliary verbs (see 2.2.3).

[17] Note in this regard its possible historical connection to *deg* 'like'.

2.2.1.1 Personal Affixes

In Tyvan there are two sets of verbal inflectional markers, one affixal (Class-I) and the other enclitic (Class-II).

(84)

Class-I	Singular	Plural	Class-II	Singular	Plural
1 person	-(I)m	-(I)vIs	1 person	men	bis
2 person	-(I)ŋ	-(I)ŋAr	2 person	sen	siler
3 person	---	(-LAr)	3 person	---	(-LAr)

All main clauses use Class-II markers, except the PAST.II (86), while subordinate clauses take Class-I markers (85). Class-I markers are thought to historically derive from possessive markers,[18] while it is generally assumed that the Tyvan non-affixal Class-II agreement markers constitute an archaic preservation of an earlier stage in the development of the Turkic languages.[19] Personal subject pronouns are optional and frequently lacking, but Class-I and Class-II markers are never optional.

(85) i. *(men) čagaa aldım* *(bister) amda kelbeedivis*
I letter take-PAST.II-1 we-PL yet come-NEG-PAST.II-1PL
'I got a letter' 'We haven't come yet'

ii. *(sen) süt ištiŋ be?* *(siler) uštuŋar*
you milk drink- PAST.II-2 Q you-PL fly- PAST.II-2-PL
'Did you drink (the) milk?' 'You flew'

(86) i. *(men) baškılap tur men* *(bis) čanaar bis*
I teacher-VSF-CV AUX 1 we go.home-P/F 1PL
'I teach' 'We're going home'

(sen) kažan törtüngen sen *olar oray kelgen(ner)*
you when be.born-PAST.I 1 they late come-PAST.I(-PL)
'When were you born' 'They came late'

In the speech of certain Tyvans, Class-II markers are optionally enclitic, with a harmonic initial consonant. That this is found primarily in W. Tyvan dialects, e.g. (Babushkin 1959b: 212) *bilbezven* know-NEG.P/F-1 'I don't know', where Altai influence is possible, as well as in Castrén's 19th century materials on Tofalar (1857).

(87) i. *men ooŋ adın bilbespen* *men üžen xarlıgben*
I 3.GEN name-3-ACC know-NEG.P/F=1 I thirty winter-ADJ=1
'I don't know his name' 'I am thirty years old'

ii. *men üš ugbalıgben* *men oynaydırben*
I three sister-ADJ=1 I play-EVID.P/F=1

[18] Note however the difference between the third person forms between the possessive affixes and the Class-I person markers, namely 3 -(z)I (possessive) vs. -Ø (Class-I) and /-(z)I/ or /-LArI/ (possessive) vs. /-LAr/ (Class-I).

[19] However, this is not necessarily the case in a strictly historical sense, i.e. they may be pseudo-archaisms (forms that have a correspondence to archaic forms but which are not necessarily direct retentions of them). Note that the 2PL form is *siler*. This is an innovation in Turkic languages of the Altai-Sayan and not to be reconstructed for Common Turkic.

'I have three sisters' 'I was joking'

2.2.1.2 TAM-system

Tyvan makes use of a range of affixes and auxiliaries to express an extensive array of temporal, aspectual, and modal nuances. While affixes indexing actions in the past or present/future, unaccomplished action, conditionals, etc. are found and commonly used, tense, aspect, and mood categories in Tyvan cannot be addressed without reference to auxiliary verbs: A large number of auxiliary verbs (20-25) are used to index a wide range of temporal, aspectual, and modal distinctions. As in virtually all Turkic languages, several of these occupy a special place within auxiliary verb system insofar as they have been grammaticalized in particular functions, e.g. *tur-* 'stand', *bol* - 'be', *olur* - 'sit', *čoru* - 'move, walk', *čıt--* 'lie', *bar-* 'go', *kel-* 'come', *al-* 'take' and *ber-* 'give'. These are discussed in **2.3** below.

2.2.1.2.1 Tense categories

2.2.1.2.1.1 PAST

Within the Tyvan tense system there is an opposition of an assertive (or 'definite') and a non-assertive (or 'indefinite') past. Both are realized affixally; /-GAn/ is the (non-assertive) PAST.I and /-DI/ the assertive PAST.II. The PAST.I is used with Class-II markers, except in the 3PL where /-LAr/ is found optionally. The PAST.II is found with Class-I markers, and the optional /-LAr/ for third person PL. Unlike the DAT, the PAST.I in /-GAn/ has an allomorph with a long vowel and lacking the initial velar sound when used following vowel-final stems; elsewhere, the alternations show a similar distribution to the DAT case marker, e.g. *tip* > *tipkan* 'found', *kel* > *kelyen* 'came', *xuvaa* > *xuvaaγan* 'divided', *biži* > *bižeen* 'wrote'. Sample paradigms for the PAST.I and PAST.II are found in (88).

(88)

PAST.I	PAST.II	
men kelgen men	*keldim*	'I came'
sen kelgen sen	*keldiŋ*	'you came'
ol kelgen	*keldi*	'he came'
bis kelgen bis	*keldivis*	'we came'
siler kelgen siler	*keldiŋer*	'y'all came'
olar kelgen(ner)	*keldi(ler)*	'they came'

PAST.I	PAST.II	
uškan men	*uštum*	'I flew'
uškan sen	*uštuŋ*	'you flew'
uškan	*uštu*	'she flew'
uškan bis	*uštuvus*	'we flew'
uškan siler	*uštuŋar*	'y'all flew'
uškan(nar)	*uštu(lar)*	'they flew'

The PAST.I and PAST.II both denote an action in the past. The two forms no longer differ in any clear-cut semantic way for all verbs. For certain verbs, minimal contrasts may be established (i), but the difference in meaning is usually pragmatically nuanced and highly context-dependent. Generally, the PAST.I in /-GAn/ is the unmarked past tense marker, and generally refers to a point in the past that is indefinite, unspecified, or more distant from the spech event. The PAST.II in /-DI/ carries a more assertive connotation and may also refer to a definite or relatively recent time in the past (iii, iv). PAST.II also carries a

decitic function in that it is used to refer to referents already introduced in the discourse. In many people's speech, it occurs primarily with first person subjects.

(89) i. *ol kino körgen men*
I film see-PAST.I 1
'I have seen that film'

ol kino kördüm
that film see-PAST.II-1
'I saw that film'

ii. *ol meŋee nom bergen*
s/he I-DAT book give-PAST.I
'he gave me a book'

men aŋaa nom berdim
I 3.DAT book give-PAST.II-1
'I gave him a book'

iii. *düün eki ududum*
yesterday well sleep-PAST.II.1
'yesterday I slept well'

iv. *anyak turgaš eki udaan men*
young AUX-CV well sleep-PAST.II 1
'when I was young, I used to sleep well'

2.2.1.2.1.2 Present-Future P/F

A non-past action is often marked by the present-future (P/F) affix in /-Vr/. With stems ending in a vowel, V is realized as a long variant of the stem-final sound, e.g. *čoru-*, *čoruur* 'goes, moves, walks' or *büzüre-*, *büzüreer* 'believes'. Consonant final stems generally have either a harmonic high /I/ or non-high /A/ vowel: *čılıdar* 'gets warm', *bilir* 'knows', etc. Irregular forms include *boor* (< *bol-*). Note that in some verbs, e.g. *čıt-* 'lie', there is a contrast between /-Ir/ and /-Ar/ forms of the present-future, e.g. *čıdır* 's/he is lying down' vs. *čıdar* 's/he will lie down, (always) lies down';[20] this latter form is also the one that performs the participial and subordinate clause predicate functions. The P/F form has both present and future meanings, depending on context.

(90) i. *ol ulus čedip keer*
that people reach-CV CLOC-P/F
'those people will come'

on urug kelir
ten girl come-P/F
'10 girls are coming'

ii. *bo ulus meni bilir*
this people I-ACC know-P/F
'these people know me'

ažıldaar men
work-P/F 1
'I work' or 'I will work'

A lexical verb stem in the /-(I)p/ converb form (see below) followed by an auxiliary verb *tur*, (*turar*), *olur*, or *čor* commonly denotes a non-past action in Tyvan. These may have either a progressive or non-progressive meaning. By far the most common auxiliary in this function is *tur-*.

(91) i. *süt ižip tur men*
milk drink-CV AUX 1
'I am drinking milk'

süt ižip turar men
milk drink-CV AUX 1
'I (regularly) drink milk'

ii. *am texnikumda baškılap tur men*

[20] Note also Azeri (Gadzhieva 1966: 74) *alir* 'takes, is taking' vs. *alar* 'will take, takes'.

now technicum-LOC teach-CV AUX 1
'now I work as a teacher at the Technical Institute'

iii. *amıraγım saqtıp olur men* *ıït xalıp olur*
beloved-1 long for-CV AUX-P/F 1 dog run-CV AUX
'I am longing for my beloved' 'the dog is running' (Sh 1995: 27)

iv. *poezdiden ozaldavas töleede, dalažıp čor men*
train-ABL be.late-NEG.P/F in.order.to hurry-CV AUX 1
'I'm hurrying so I don't miss the train' (Sh 1993: 72)

2.2.1.2.2 Aspect

There are six aspectual constructions realized affixally in Tyvan: iterative, perfective, resultative, cessative, 'emphatic', and a form indexing 'unaccomplished action about to be realized in the near future'. The first two of these are quasi-derivational in that they occupy a position between the lexical stem and the tense-markers, without which they are incomplete in forms other than the singular imperative; the latter two, on the other hand, occupy the same position in the verb as the tense markers and are thus mutually exclusive with them. The two other morphologically indexed aspectual categories, the reduplicated 'emphatic' aspectual forms, and the cessative aspect form in -BAstA, stand apart from these in a number of ways.

2.2.1.2.2.1 Iterative

The iterative aspect (ITER) in Tyvan is marked by the affix /-KIlA/. Its origin is unknown although it is possible that it is a verb stem in /-LA/ derived from a participial form of the verb in /-KI/ (cf. the modal form in /-KI/ *deg* and the subordinate clause formant in /-KIže/ discussed below). It marks repeated action. In current colloquial usage this affix also marks expressive actions (diminutive, augmentative), e.g. 'to X a little bit', 'to do X quickly'.

(92) i. *kildirgila* *(sen) šaydan kutkulavıt*
do-ITER you tea-ABL make-ITER-PERF
'(You) work a little!' '(You) make some tea!'

ii. *kandanγa nomnardan nomčutkula*
Kandan-DAT book-PL-ALL read-CAUS-ITER
'Make Kandan read a little bit from (each of) the books'

iii. *olar bistiinge čamdikta kelgilep turgulaar*
they we-P/CP-3-DAT some-LOC come-ITER-CV AUX-ITER-P/F
'they drop by our place from time to time' (IP 1961: 251)

Converbs may be reduplicated to signal iterativity in certain registers (e.g. literary)

(93) *bürü udup-udup ottup kelgen*
wolf sleep-CV-sleep-CV wake.up-CV CLOC-PAST.I
'the wolf slept on and on, then woke up'

In Kyzyl dialect speakers, the ITER is relatively infrequently used, often replaced instead by adverbial expressions of various types, e.g.

(94) *men bo nomnu katap-katap nomčup turgan men*
I this book-ACC times read-CV AUX-PAST.I 1
'I have read this book many times'

2.2.1.2.2.2 Perfect(ive)

The perfective (PERF) affix is maximally /-IvIt/, but it may also be reduced to /-Ipt/, or /-Ip/ alone. It probably derives from a fusing of the lexical stem in the /-(I)p/ converb form with the verb *ıð- 'send'; a similar form is found in Xakas, where it is maximally realized as -IbIs. In past tense forms, it marks a single perfective action. In non-past forms it may mark a series of individual perfective actions with a habitual sense. The Perfective allomorph /-IvIt/ is used most often after a bare (imperative) stem. This combination of PERF and IMP contrasts with the plain imperative in signaling limited duration, rapidity or perfectivity of the action. It also denotes a more forceful imperative and would be impolite in a more formal register.

(95) i. *meni mana* *meni manavıt*
I-ACC wait I-ACC wait-PERF
'wait for me' (unspecified amount of time) 'wait for me' (for a little while)

ii. *onu bižı* *onu bižıvit*
it-ACC write it-ACC write-PERF
'(You) write it!' '(You) write it quickly!'

iii. *onu bižıvittiŋer*
it-ACC write-PERF-2PL
'(Y'all) write it quickly!'

iv. *yablaqtı čı* *yablaqtı čivit*
apple-ACC eat apple-ACC eat-PERF
'(You) eat the apple!' '(You) eat the apple right now!'
or 'Eat the apple up!'

v. *čemnen* *čemnenivit*
eat eat-PERF
'(you) eat!' (polite) 'Eat up!' *or* 'Finish eating!'
(forceful, not polite)

An action that is done done quickly, unexpectedly or for a very short time can be expressed with the PERF allomorph in /-Ipt-/, followed by the P/F ending /-Ar/ or the expressive future (imperative) /-Ayn/. This PERF-P/F form belongs to an informal register but is commonly used. Note that this construction is found with both Class-I and Class-II agreement markers.

(96) i. *ol ırnı ırlaptar men* vs. *ol ırnı ırlaar men*
that song-ACC sing- PERF-P/F 1 that song-ACC sing-FUT 1
'I'm gonna sing that song' 'I will sing that song'

ii. *men ırlaptarım*
1 sing- PERF-P/F-1
'I'm gonna sing for a bit'

iii. *arbuztu čipter men* — *arbuztu čipteyn*
watermelon-ACC eat- PERF-P/F 1 — W.-ACC eat- PERF-IMP.1
'I'm gonna eat (some) watermelon' — 'Let me eat (some) watermelon'

iv. *xar bolza, eskeripter men*
snow be-COND notice- PERF-P/F 1
'If there's snow, I'll notice (it) right away'

v. cf. simple P/F: *xar bolza, eskerer men*
snow be-COND notice- PERF.II 1
'If there's snow, I'll notice (it)' *or* 'When it snows, I notice'

vi. *àttar kilaštaži bergenner, oon doktaap turupkannar*
horse-PL drive.together-REC-CV INCH-PAST.I-PL then stop AUX-PERF-PAST.I-PL
'they drove the horses together and then stopped' (L 1989:71)

2.2.1.2.2.3 Resultative

The resultative (RSLTV) in /-ČIk/ marks actions completed in the past, with emphasis on the result. It occurs in Xakas, Kyrgyz and Old Uighur as well. This form is used in contemporary spoken Tyvan to assert the truth of a statement which the hearer doubts (ii), or to pose a rhetorical question (i). The RSLTV is obsolete in many dialects, and speakers may use an emphatic clitic instead (iv). The RSLTV is also found in literary forms (v-vi), especially in traditional tales.

(97) i. *sen meni düün köržük sen be*
you me-ACC yesterday see-RSLTV you Q
'Didn't you see me yesterday?' *or* 'Don't you realize you saw me yesterday?'

ii. *iye, öörenip baar čoraaš seni köržük men* — *čižik men*
yes study-CV go-P/F go-CV you-ACC see-RSLTV 1 — eat-RSLTV 1
Yes, while I was on my way to study, I *did* see you. — 'I *did* eat (them)'

iii. *sen mančiŋni čop čiveen sen*
you dumplings-ACC DISC eat-NEG.PAST.I 2
'you didn't eat your dumplings, did you?'

iv. cf. *čigen-ne men* — *čidim-ni*
eat-PAST.I-EMPH 1 — eat-PAST.II-1-EMPH
'I *did* eat (them)!' — 'I *did* eat (them)!'

v. *sugga düže beržik, irgi be azɨ karžɨ börüler algaš baržɨktar irgi be?*
water-DAT fall-CV AUX-RSLTV Q or evil wolf-PL take-CV AUX-RSLTV-PL Q
'did he drown or did evil wolves carry him off?' (B 244)

vi. *diŋnaar turžuk, xarɨn karaam=bile körgen men*
hear-P/F AUX-RSLTV but eye-1=INS see-PAST.I 1
'(not only) did I hear, but I saw (it) with my (own) eye(s)' Sh (1987: 124)

2.2.1.2.2.4 Unaccomplished

In Tyvan, as in the other languages of the Altai-Sayan region, an unaccomplished action (UNACMPL) can be marked by the affix /-GAlAk/ (now obsolete in many registers and dialects of spoken Tyvan). However, unlike Xakas or Altai, the form in /-GAlAk/ in standardized Tyvan carries not only the sense that the action of the verb hasn't yet been completed, but also that it will be in the near future (i). It may still be found in literary texts as a participle in various functions (ii), e.g. modificationally as a relative-type clause, or as a subordinate clause predicate.

(98) i. *školanɨ dooskalaam silerge bildingir*
school-ACC finish-UNACMPL-1 you-DAT known
'you know that (I haven't yet but) I'm to finish school soon' (M 1959: 90)

ii. *xoorayni kartaga=daa demdegleelek*
city-ACC map-DAT=EMPH mark-UNACMPL
'the city has not yet been marked on the map (but it will be soon)' (IP 1961: 391)

iii. *ažɨlɨn dooskalak ulus maŋaa demdegledip aliŋar (!)*
work-3.ACC finish-UNACMPL people here register-CV SBEN-PL.IMP
'the people who will soon finish their work, register here!' (UL 1986: 209)

iv. *bažɨŋya četkelek čorumda čàs čap keldi*
house-DAT reach-UNACMPL AUX-1-LOC rain precipitate-CV AUX-PAST.II
'I didn't get home (before) the rain started' (E 1984: 69)

A similar aspectual category is expressed periphrastically in an auxiliary verb construction, combining a P/F form of the verb stem immediately preceding the final auxiliary (an auxverb or a lexical verb) and a past form of the verb stem *čas-* (itself also possibly in an auxiliary verb construction).[21] It often appears with the assertive PAST.II suffix.

(99) i. *nomum*[22] *čediriip alɨr častɨm*
book-1 lose-CV SBEN-P/F AUX-PAST.II-1
'I nearly lost my book'

ii. *uduur čazip turdum* — *uduur častɨm*
sleep-P/F AUX-CV AUX-PAST.II-1 — sleep-P/F AUX-PAST.II-1
'I (had) nearly slept' — 'I nearly slept'

2.2.1.2.2.5 Aspectual Reduplication

In Tyvan, a verb stem may also be C_1V_1p-reduplicated. The reduplication adds an aspectual connotation of rapid or intense action, or action of short duration. The reduplication may also add emphasis to verbs.

(100) i. *xap-xalaan men* — *xap-xaladɨm*
REDUP-drive-PAST.I 1 — REDUP-drive-PAST.II-1

[21] The basic lexical meaning of *čazar* is 'to miss' ('to long for').

[22] The lack of ACC case on this form may be due to an leveling in certain registers of spoken Tyvan of the difference between first/second person possessed forms and third person possessed forms, reducing the oppositions *nomumnu* book-1-ACC *nomuŋnu* book-2-ACC *nomun* book-3.ACC to *nomum, nomuŋ, nomun*.

'I was driving fast' 'I drove fast'

ii. *köp-kördüm* *inekti sap-saar men*
REDUP-see-PAST.I 1 COW-ACC REDUP-milk-P/F 1
'I saw' (unexpectedly/suddenly) 'I will definitely milk the cow'

iii. *köp-körbeen men* *inekti sap-saɣbas men*
REDUP-'see-NEG-PAST.I 1 COW-ACC REDUP-milk-NEG.P/F 1
'I have never seen at all' 'I will definitely not milk the cow'

2.2.1.2.2.6 Cessation

The cessative [CES] aspect--'to stop doing X'--is morphologically marked with the affix /-BAstA-/ (101).[23] In various registers and in the speech of Kyzyl residents, this may sometimes be combined with the INCH aspect form, i.e. 'to begin to not X' (102).[24]

(101) i. *škola soonda orus nomnar nomčuvastap kalgan men*
school after Rus. book-PL read-NEG-CES-CV AUX-PAST.I 1
'After (finishing) school, I stopped reading Russian books'

ii. *nomčuvastaanɨm užurundan šilgeldeni baɣay dužaadɨm*
read-NEG-CES-PAST.I-1 reason-ABL exam-NOM badly meet-PAST.II-1
'Due to my stopping reading, I did badly on the exam'

iii. *čaɣaanɨ šerigče bižip turgan men, am biživesteskeen men*
letter-ACC army-ALL write-CV AUX-PAST.I 1 now write-NEG-CES-DESID-PAST.I
'I used to write letters to (friends in) the army; now I've stopped wanting to write'

(102) i. *olar onu biživestey bergenner*
they 3.ACC write-NEG.FUT-VSF-CV INCH-PAST.I-PL
'they stopped writing it'

ii. *men ol nomnu nomčuvastay berdim*
I that book-ACC read-NEG.FUT-VSF-CV INCH-PAST.II-1
'I stopped reading that book'

iii. *men tɨva xüreš=bile surguul kɨlbastay beerimge ačam xomudaan*
I Tyvan wrestling=INS participant do-CES-CV AUX-P/F-1-DAT father-1 be.unhappy-PAST.I
'my father was unhappy with my having stopped doing Tyvan wrestling (xuresh)' (Ch 1984: 81)

[23] Historically this seems to have arisen from the NEG.P/F participle in -BAs to which was added either the verbal derivational element -LA or the LOC case form. Both forms are plausible sources for this construction. The LOC case commonly is used with participles in Tyvan and throughout the Turkic language family, and there is at least one other construction using a post-inflectional derivational element, viz. the -KI in -DAgI which forms nominal (modifiers) from LOC-marked nouns.

[24] A similar construction is found in Xakas, where the form consists of the NEGconverb and the inchoative (INCH) auxiliary, e.g. *knigani xɨɣɨrbayn pirgem* book-ACC read-NEG.CV INCH-PAST.I-1 'I stopped reading the book'.

2.2.1.2.3 Mood

A number of different modal categories are realized affixally in Tyvan. These include the conditional and the related concessive, the evidential past and present, the imperative, and the optative--functionally almost an assertive future. In addition, several other modal categories can be found in Tyvan, including the (quasi-)derivational desiderative in /-ksA/, two types of possibilitives, and a subjunctive-type formation

2.2.1.2.3.1 Conditional

The conditional [CON] in Tyvan is marked by the affix /-ZA/. However, unlike other Turkic languages, there is a double-marking of the conditional in first and second person forms, with the person/number affix coming between the two conditional affixes, the first of which appears as /-ZI-/:

(103)

(men) kelzimze	'if I come'	*(bis) kelzivisse*	'if we come'
(sen) kelziŋze	'if you come'	*(siler) kelziŋerze*	'if you come'
(ol) kelze	'if s/he comes'	*(olar) kelze(ler)*	'if they come'

The conditional has several functions in Tyvan. First, it marks conditional clauses, both future (ii) and past/irrealis ones. The latter function involves the use of the auxiliary verb *bol-* 'be' (iii). Clauses with the CON affix may have a temporal rather than a conditional sense (iv).

(104) i. *aškaŋ četse, čemden sadɨp al*
money-2 suffice-COND food-ABL buy-CV SBEN-IMP
'if your money is sufficient, buy some food'

ii. *kažan kino baar aparziŋarza meni edertip alɨr siler*
when movies go-P/F AUX-CON-2PL-CON I-ACC take-CV SBEN-P/F 2PL
'if you go to the movies, take me along'

iii. *čaaskan bolzumza aas-kežiim kaydal*
alone be-CON-1-CON happiness-1 where-I/D
'if I am alone, where is my happiness?'

iv. *ɨ̀ɨt eere berze-le*
dog bark-CV INCH-CON=EMPH
'when the dog sets to barking' (B 204)

v. *kažan xar čaarɨn soksadɨpsa, aŋnap egeley beer bis*
when snow precipitate-P/F-3-ACCstop-CON hunt-CV begin-CV BEN-P/F1PL
'when it stops snowing we'll begin hunting' (UL 1986: 158)

In the speech of Kyzyl residents, almost all conditional clauses start with *bir eves* 'if' (literally 'not one')

(105) i. *bir eves kɨrgan aššak vodka ižer bolza, ol ɨrɨ ɨrlaar*
if old old.man vodka drink-P/F AUX-CON s/he song sing-P/F
'if the old man drinks some vodka, he will sing a song'

ii. *bir eves men ol bažɨŋ(n)ɨ tɨvar bolzumza meŋi örünčü bolur iyik*
if I that house-ACC find-P/F AUX-CON-1-CON I-DAT happy AUX-P/F SBJNCTV
'if I had found that house, I would have been happy'

iii. *bir eves bo bažıŋnı tıvalzımza men amıraar men*
if this house-ACC find-(SBEN)-CON-1-CON I rejoice-P/F 1
'if I find this house, I'll be happy'

iv. *bir eves bo bažıŋnı tıvalgan turgan bolzumza men amıraar turgan men*
if this house-ACC find-SBEN-PAST.I AUX-PAST.I AUX-CON-1-CON I rejoice-P/F AUX-PAST.I 1
'if I had found this house, I would have been happy'

The CON can also be used with *deeš* to mean 'in order to'; not that these forms lack personal inflection.

(106) *bis silerniŋ=bile biče xöörešse deeš kelgen ulus bis*
we y'all-GEN=INS a.little converse-CON in.order.to come-PAST people 1PL
'we came to talk a little with you' (Delger-Ool 1960: 123)

On rare occasion a conditional sense can be found without the conditional affix, but with *bir eves* introducing the clause

(107) *bir eves domaktıŋ kol sözü čok...*
if sentence-GEN subject-3 not
'if the sentence has no subject ..' Sat (1983: 45)

2.2.1.2.3.2 Concessive

Consisting of the conditional plus the emphatic clitic *=daa*, the concessive in Tyvan corresponds to English clauses introduced by 'even though', 'although'. Note that the *=daa* can appear enclitic to the word bearing the conditional affix or may be enclitic to the word preceding it.

(108) i. *men anıyak=taa bolzumza ol kižin(i) tanır men*
I young=EMPH be-CON-1-CON that person-ACC know-P/F 1
'although I am young, I know him'

ii. *budum aarıp turza=daa azılımče čoruptur men*
foot-1 be.ill-CV AUX-CON=EMPH work-1-ALL go-EVID.PAST 1
'even though my feet hurt, I (still) am going to work' (UL 1986: 158)

iii. *ög ištinde ulus šıgırt dolu=daa bolza, kezek kada šıpšıŋ turgan*
yurt in-3-LOC people completely full=EMPH be-CON for.a.while quiet AUX-PAST.I
'although the yurt was completely full of people, there was quiet for a while'
(Sh 1993: 73)

2.2.1.2.3.3 Conciliatory

The form known as the 'conciliatory' mood (CNCL) in the Tyvan linguistic literature and the 'optative' in general Turkological studies is marked by the affix /-GAy/. The most common function of this affix is really the only true of the conciliatory form of 'be', *bolgay*, which functions as an emphatic clause marker, with a full conjugation after a tense-marked lexical stem or nominal predicate (ii). Otherwise, it frequently carries a meaning of a concession or agreement on the part of the subject to perform an action (i). It most frequently appears in the first person. It is commonly used with a following particle, e.g. *aan*, *aan ale*, -LA, etc.

(109) i. *am čiir bis*
now eat-P/F we
'Now, we'll eat'

am čigey bis
now eat-CNCL we
'Now, we'll eat' (strong assertion)

ii. *am köör bis*
now see-P/F we
'Now, we'll see'

am körgey bis
now see-CNCL we
'Now, we'll see' (We'll see who's right!)

iii. *kim xöy mandži čiir=il körgeyle bis*
who many dumpling eat-P/F=CL see-CNCL-EMPH we
'We'll see who can eat the most dumplings!'

iv. *sen büzüreves-taa bolzuŋza men alban bargay-la men*
you believe-NEG.P/F=EMPH be-COND-2-COND I definitely go-CNCL=EMPH I
'Even though you don't believe (it), I'm definitely going'

v. *kileŋnep-le turgaylar, meŋee xamaan eves*
be.angry-CV-EMPH AUX-CNCL-PL I-DAT attitude not
'well, let them be angry, what do I care' (IP 1961: 399)

vi. *a šak inčaldır kižip kakpaska, xırnıŋ kažan=daa totpas bolgay*
well so thus try-CV AUX-NEG.P/F-DAT stomach-2 when=EMPH fill-NEG.P/F AUX-CNCL
'well if you go on like that without trying, your stomach will indeed never be full'
(Sh 1993: 65)

vii. *men bo šöldü kezip turganımnı sen körgen-ne bolgay sen*
I this meadow-ACC cut-CV AUX-PAST-1-ACC you see-PAST=EMPH AUX-CNCL 2
'you indeed saw that I cut this meadow' (Ch 1984: 63)

viii. *aalčılar bažıŋında-la bolgay men*
hotel-3-DAT-EMPH be-CNCL 1
'I was indeed in the hotel' (Sereedar 1995: 70)

2.2.1.2.3.4 Desiderative

To express a desiderative (DES) meaning in Tyvan, several different formal mechanisms are available. With many stems, the (quasi-)derivational affix /-ksA/ is used (I). Note that [ks] often metathesizes to [sk] or [sx].

(110) i. *(men) čagaa bižiksipter men*
I letter write-DES-PERF-P/F 1
'I want to write a letter'

(men) čagaa bižiksep tur men
I letter write-DES-cv AUX 1
'I want to write a letter'

ii. *ol ulustar čedip keliksep tur(u)gan*
that people-PL arrive-CV CLOC-DES-CV AUX-PAST.I
'they wanted to come'

iii. *urug aažok čuruk čuruskan*
girl very drawing draw-DES-PAST.I
'the girl really wanted to draw a drawing'

iv. *olar čedip keliskep turar*
they reach-CV CLOC-DES-CV AUX-P/F
'they want to come'

v. *men čagaa bižiksedim* — *maŋnasxap tur men*
I letter write-DES-PAST.II-1 — run-DES-CV AUX 1
'I wanted to write a letter' — 'I want to run'

The P/F form plus the assertive /-DIr/ is a polite way to express a desired action.

(111) *onu kamera=bile turturardır men*
it-ACC camera=INS hold-CAUS-P/F-ASSTRV 1
'I'd like to photograph it with (my) camera'

2.2.1.2.3.5 Evidential

The evidential (EVID) mood in Tyvan is marked by the affix /-DIr/, which may also attach to nouns and modifiers, and has a wide range of uses. It may be preceded by the /-(I)p/ converb to form the EVID.PAST (i, ii) or the /-A/-y/ converb to form the EVID.P/F (iv). Sometimes the EVID.PAST may be used in a semantically non-past clause (iii). The EVID.PAST is not a frequently attested form in modern spoken Tyvan. In addition, various compound tense-aspect forms can be inflected in the evidential as well, e.g. an evidential imperfect in *-p turup-tur*, etc. Note that the EVID.P/F often carries a connotation of an action that is sudden, unexpected, or fleeting. The meaning varies lexically and according to the discourse. It can also signal reported speech or the inadvertant, involuntary or unexpected nature of an action. On occasion, the evidential functions as a clitic in -DIr (see 3.4) not a finite modal affix, and can be attached to already inflected forms (vii, viii) and copular forms (ix).[25]

(112) i. *söölgü üyede öskeleni beriptir sen*
last time-LOC change-CV INCH-EVID.PAST 2
'it seems you changed recently' (Sat 1966: 395)

ii. *men körüptür men* — *men körüp tur men*
I see-EVID.PAST 1 — I see-CV AUX 1
'I saw' — 'I see'

iii. *budum aarıp turza=daa azılımče čoruptur men*
foot-1 be.ill-CV AUX-CON=EMPH work-1-ALL go-EVID.PAST 1
'even though my feet hurt, I (still) am going to work' (UL 1986: 158)

iv. *ol oynaydır* — *men oynaydır men*
s/he play-EVID.P/F — I play-EVID.P/F 1
'he's going to play' — 'I'm kidding around'

v. *ayalganı dıŋnaydır men* — *kožamče maŋnaydır men*
music-ACC hear-EVID.P/F 1 — neighbor-1-ALL run-EVID.P/F 1
'suddenly, (it seems) I hear music' — 'I'll run to my neighbor's for a bit'

[25] This probably is an extension of its distribution in modern Tyvan reflecting interference from the homophonous assertive clitic, which commonly appears in these positions, see 3.4 below. Also, for many speakers, the distinction between the present in *-p tur* and the EVID.PAST in *-ptIr* has been neutralized for many speakers, especially in rapid speech.

vi. *čoruur bodaydır men* — *čoruur bodap tur men*
go-P/F think-EVID.P/F 1 — go-P/F think-CV AUX 1
'I've just decided to go' — 'I'm thinking of going'

vii. *men àrtar men* — *men àrtardır men*
1 stay-P/F 1 — 1 stay-P/F-EVID 1
'I'm staying' — 'I'm supposed to stay'

viii. *Möngün Taygaga sarlık körgendir men*
M. T.-DAT yak see-PAST.I-EVID 1
'In Mongun-Taiga I saw a yak (to my surprise)'

ix. *čoktur* — *bardır*
NEG-EVID — there.is-EVID
'There isn't any (apparently)' — 'There is/are (apparently)'

2.2.1.2.3.6 Imperative

The singular form of the second person imperative (IMP) mood in Tyvan, as in many languages of the world, is the simple bare stem, lacking any other tense-aspect-mood or person/number marker (113). In the plural, the second person adds the affix /-IŋAr/ (114). Third person forms are in /-ZIn/ and /-ZIn(nAr)/ (115). [26] In the first person singular the form is /-Ayn/; the form has both a hortatory function (116) as well as an intentional future meaning.

(113) i. *čemnen* — *čemden sadıp al*
eat — food-ABL buy-CV SBEN
'eat!' — 'buy some food!'

ii. *kadaylandır dep šiitpirlep algan bolzuŋza, kadaylanıp al*
marry COMP decide-CV SBEN-PAST.I AUX-CON-2-CON get.married-CV SBEN
'if/once you've decided to marry someone, (go ahead) and marry' (Sh 1993: 67)

(114) i. *čemneniŋer* — *bilip alniŋar*
eat-IMP.PL — know SBEN-IMP.PL
'eat!' (plural) — 'find out!' (plural)

ii. *Sveta kelze, meni udavas čedip kelir dep damčıdıŋar*
S. come-CON I-ACC soon reach-CV CLOC-P/F COMP tell-IMP.PL
'if/when Sveta comes, tell her I'll return soon' (Sh 1993: 65, 67)

(115) i. *bodanzınnar* — *bilzin*
ponder-3.IMP-PL — know-3.IMP
'let them think it over, ponder it' — 'may he know'

ii. *kelbezin* — *kelzin*

[26] The 3.IMP also plays a role as a causally subordinate clause predicate following the complementizer *deeš*. Note also the following causative-like construction with the verb *deer-* 'say': (field notes, 12-year old girl) *baškı öörenčilerni nom nomčuzun deen* teacher student-PL-ACC book read-3.IMP say-PAST.I 'the teacher made the students read'.

come-NEG-3.IMP
'let him not come'

come-3.IMP
'let him come'

iii. *ol kele kaapsɨn*
s/he come-CV AUX-CV-IMP-3
'let her/him come for a little while'

(116) i. *sen ol nomnu nomčuvayn turar bolganɨŋda, men onu alɨyn*
you that book-ACC read-NEG.CV AUX-P/F AUX-PAST-2-LOC I 3.ACC take-1.IMP
'once you're no longer reading that book, let me take it' (Sh 1993: 65, 68)

ii. *sen klubče barbaanɨŋda, men baza bazɨŋga olurayn*
you club-ALL go-NEG-PAST-2-LOC I also house-DAT sit-1.FUT.II
'if you're not going to the club, I'm going to stay home too' (Sh 1993: 65, 68)

In addition to the forms above, Tyvan speakers also may use a first dual (inclusive) imperative form in /-(A)Al(I)/ 1DL.IMP and the 1PL.IMP in /-AAlIŋAr/. This former generally signals first person dual inclusive, but may also take the plural affix. Note that the presence of the negative affix causes stress to fall on the syllable that precedes it.

(117) *(bis) beel(i)*
(1PL) give-1DL-IMP.II
Let's (we two) give.

(bis) beelinger
(1PL) give-1PL-IMP.II
Let's give.

ii. *bis üš berbeel(i)*
(1PL) three give-NEG-1DL-IMP.II
Let's (we three) not give.

kɨlaštaal(ɨ) bis
walk-IMP.II we
Let's (we two) go for a walk.

iii. *udúvaalɨŋar*
sleep-NEG-IMP.II-2PL
'let's not sleep'

čemnénbeelinger (~ -meelinger)
eat-NEG-IMP.II-2PL
'let's not eat'

In current colloquial usage, one often encounters a construction with a P/F participle in an assertive form:

(118) *uduvastɨr (če)*
sleep-NEG-EVID okay
Let's not sleep! (okay?)

In colloquial Tyvan, a politenesss (POL) affix or clitic in /-Am/ is found with certain common imperative singular forms, e.g. *berem* 'give (me)', *körem* 'try' or 'look'

(119) i. *iyelee alip alɨlɨm*
two-COLL take-CV SBEN-1PDL.IMP-POL
'let the 2 of us together take (it)'

ii. *aškadan berem*
money-ABL give-POL
'(Please) give me some money'

2.2.1.2.3.7 Subjunctive

Following a verb in the /-Vr/ P/F form, *iyik* may function as a subjunctive mood marker; note this is probably cognate with the Xakas subjunctive form in /-ArjIk/. This is usually, though not exclusively, found in the main clause following a (counterfactual) conditional clause.

(120) i. *bir eves men ol bažɨŋ(n)ɨ tɨvar bolzumza meŋi örünčü bolur iyik*
if I that house-ACC find-P/F AUX-CON-1-CON I-DAT happy AUX-P/F SBJNCTV
'if I had found that house, I would have been happy'

ii. *kažan ol bažɨŋni tɨvalzɨvɨssa, öörenčü bolur (i)yik*
when that house-ACC find-CV-SBEN-CON-1PL-CON happy be-P/F SBJNCTV
'if he finds that house, he would be happy'

2.2.1.2.8 Modals in (-KI) deg

Tyvan possesses an (irrealis) modal form marked by *deg*, meaning 'as if' (i). Another modal is marked by the sequence *-KI deg* (ii). This corresponds to English 'could' or less commonly 'should'. It is probably participial in origin (cf. the -GI participle in older Uighur sources); this is preserved in its role as a preposed modifier in Tyvan (ii). It may also appear on finite verb predicates (iii). Cognate forms of this (although fully fused into a single affix) can be found in the other Turkic languages of the Altai-Sayan as well, e.g. Xakas, Shor, or Altai.

(121) i. *koža kɨlaštažɨp čoraan deg bis*
together walk-RECIP-CV go-PAST.I as.if we
'as if we had been walking together side by side'

ii. *ɨnčangaš kiži baškɨnɨŋ salɨpkɨ deg bügü aytɨrɨglarɨnga beletkenir apaar*
therefore person teacher-GEN put-PERF-MOD all question-PL-3-DAT prepare-P/F AUX-P/F
'therefore you must prepare for all the questions the teacher could ask' (Oyun 1983)

iii. *bo argadan ɨrak eves-le šɨk bar bolgu deg*
this forest-ABL far not-EMPH meadow there.is AUX-MOD
'not far from this forest there should be a meadow' (Sh 1995: 63)

2.2.1.3 Negation

There are a number of means of expressing negation in Tyvan, both affixal and lexical. The negative affixes are all based on the element /-BA/. This alone appears in the PAST.I, PAST.II, UNACMPL, and IMP .

(122) i. *nomčuvadɨm*
read-NEG-PAST.II.1
'I didn't read'

nomčuvaan men
read-NEG-PAST.I
'I didn't read' *or* I havn't read'

ii. *ɨrlavaŋar*
sing-NEG-PL
'don't sing!' (plural)

düne kɨlaštava
at.night walk-NEG
'don't walk at night!'

iii. *ažɨldap turar mašinaga degbe*
work-CV AUX-P/F machine-DAT touch-NEG
'don't touch a machine that is in use' (UL 1986: 214, 152)

iv *kiži kelgeš, men anaar bar albadɨm*
person come-CV I to.there go SBEN-NEG-PAST.II-1
'because people came, I didn't go there'

In the P/F, the negative affix is /-BAs/. The negative converb is /-BAyn/, replacing -p, /-A/, and /-GAš/.

(123) i. *čemnenmes sen be* *seni utpas men*
eat-NEG.P/F you Q you-ACC forget-NEG-P/F 1
'Won't you eat?' 'I won't forget you'

ii. *mal kadarɨp čoraaš udup bolbas*
livestock tend-CV AUX-CV sleep-CV CAP-NEG.P/F
'you can't sleep (when) tending livestock' (Kunaa (1970: 67-8)

(124) i *sen ol nomnu nomčuvayn turar bolganɨŋda, men onu alɨyn*
you that book-ACC read-NEG.CV AUX-P/F AUX-PAST-2-LOC I 3.ACC take-1.IMP
'once you're not reading that book, let me take it' (Sh 1993: 68)

ii. *olar čoruy bargan töleede dalašpayn barɨp bolur turgan*
they go-CV TLOC-PAST since hurry-NEG TLOC-CV CAP-P/F AUX-PAST.I
'it was possible to not rush, since they had already left' (UL 1986: 82)

As is apparent from the examples above, /-BAyn/ comes on the lexical (first verb) stem in auxiliary verb chains.

Negating nominal and adjectival stems is done with the particle *eves* in Tyvan. Historically this is the NEG.P/F form of the verb *e(r)- 'be'.

(125) *Uranmaa klass ežinge didim eves kɨlɨštap čede bergen*
U. class door-3-DAT brave not go-CV AUX-CV INCH-PAST.I
'Uranmaa shyly went up to the classroom door' (Kunaa 1970: 57)

The negative copula is *čok*. It may be used in existential and possessive functions corresponding to positive *bar*. In non-present functions, this usually combines with the auxiliary verb *tur-*. Note however the difference in the negative forms of the possessive construction, where the verbal predicate *čok* takes a past tense form of the auxiliary *tur*, but in the locative copular function *čok* is replaced in the past by a NEG.PAST.I form of *tur*.

(126) i. *mende üš nom čok* *mende üš ool čok* *meeŋ üš oglum čok*
I-LOC three book not I-LOC three son not I-GEN three son-1 not
'I don't have three books' 'I don't have three sons' 'I don't have 3 sons'

ii. *meeŋ beš àdɨm čok* *meeŋ beš àdɨm čok turgan*
I-GEN five horse-1 not I-GEN five horse-1not AUX-PAST.I
'I don't have 5 horses' 'I didn't have 5 horses'

iii. *avam bažɨŋda čok*
I house-LOC not
'my mother isn't at home'

iv. *avam bažɨŋga tur(u)baan* *avam bažɨŋga tur(u)bas*

mother-1 house-DAT AUX-NEG-PAST.I mother-1 house-DAT AUX-NEG.FUT
'my mother wasn't at home' 'my mother won't be at home'

Mongush (1993) has presented an analysis of a type of emphatically rhetorical question in Tyvan that uses a negative verb followed by *deer* 'to say'.[27]

(127) *kɨm kelbedi deer*
who come-NEG-PAST.II say-P/F
'who didn't come' (M 1993: 55, 58)

ii. *kɨmnar=bile tanɨšpaan deeril*
who-PL-INS be.acquainted-NEG-PAST.I say-P/F-EMPH
'who doesn't he know!' (M 1993: 56, 61)

iii. *ooŋ omak-xöglüün čüü deer traktornu čüü deer boor onu*
3.GEN happy-3-ACC what say-P/F tractor-ACC what say-P/F be-P/F 3.ACC
'how happy he is' 'what a wonderful tractor'

2.2.2 Verbal Categorizers

The most common verbal formant in Tyvan is /-LA/. This attaches freely to almost any noun stem. The resulting semantics of the verb can best be described as "to perform an action most typically associated with the noun", for example from *šay* 'tea' there is *šayla-* 'drink tea', similarly *aŋ* 'animal' *aŋna-* 'hunt', *börü* 'wolf' *börüle-* 'hunt wolves', *diiŋ* 'squirrel' *diiŋne-* 'hunt squirrels'; *boo* 'gun' *boola-* 'fire (a) gun'; *kelek* 'piece' *kelekte-* 'divide into pieces'; *xomus* 'xomus (musical instrument)' *xomusta-* 'play (the) xomus'; *xol* 'hand' *xolda-* 'catch with hand'; *baškɨ* 'teacher' *baškɨla-* 'teach',

(128) i. *xünzedir kattadɨm*
all.day berry-VSF-PAST.II-1
'I went berry-picking all day' (B 1960: 137)

ii. *bir-le čɨlɨn Kara-Xölge iyi kuu užup kelgeš čaylaannar*
one'=EMPH year.ADV K.-X.-DAT two swan fly-CV CLOC-CV summer-VSF-PAST.I-PL
'one year 2 swans came to K-X and passed the summer (there)'. (Ch 1984: 56)

Other, less common verb-forming affixes are found as well, such as /-A/, /-IrgA/, /-ZIrA/, /-Ar/, /-rA/, /-Gar/, /-sI, /šI/, /čI/, /-ksA/: (Krueger 1977: 153-4) *at* 'name' > *ada-* 'to name, call', *dus* 'salt' > *duza-* 'to salt', *xat* 'wind' > *xadɨ* 'blow'; *ak* 'white' > *agar-* 'pale, whiten'; *sula* 'weak' > *sulara* 'grow weak'; *baš* 'head' > *baškar-* 'lead', *xep* 'clothing' > *xepker-* 'dress, clothe'; *elbek* 'plentiful' > *elbekši-* 'become abundant', *an(ɨ)yak* 'young' > *an(ɨ)yaksɨ-* 'become young', *telefončut-* 'telephone'; *bilig* 'knowledge' > *biliirge* 'be a know-it-all'; *uygu* 'sleep' > *uyguzura-* 'want to sleep, be sleepy', *èt* 'meat'

[27] In certain variants of Tyvan, other negative formations can be found. For example use of a possessed noun followed by *surag* or *alaga* (S. Tyvan dialect), creates a type of negative construction, e.g. *ačam surag ~ ačam alaga* father-1 NEG 'I have no father'. Note that in the non-present forms, these particles are followed by the auxiliaries *bargan/baar* (*sen*), etc. (N. Sereedar, personal communication): *demgi uruglar alaga bargan* that(same) girl-PL NEG AUX-PAST.I 'there weren't *those* girls'.

> *èʦire-* 'want to eat meat'; *sug* 'water' > *suksa-* 'be thirsty'; *bay* 'rich' *bayɨrga-* 'consider yourself rich'; *xülüm* 'laughter' *xülümzüre-* 'smile'.

Voice suffixes constitute another important aspect of Tyvan verb stem derivation. The following voice categories are realized affixally in Tyvan: causative (CAUS), passive (PASS), reciprocal (REC) and reflexive (RFLXV). Several different causative affixes are found in Tyvan, including, /-DIr/, -t, /-DIrt/, /-GIs/, etc. -t is used following vowel-final stems and stems already causativized by /-DIr/: *kɨl-* 'do' *kɨldɨr-* 'make s.o. do' *kɨldɨrt-* 'make s.o. make s.o. do' *kɨldɨrttɨr-* 'make s.o. make s.o make s.o do'; *nomču-* 'read' *nomčut-* 'make s.o. read'; *öl-* 'die' *ölür-* 'kill' *ölürt-* 'be killed'; *kör-* 'look' *köryüs-* 'show' *köryüstür-* 'make s.o. show' *köryüstürt-* 'make s.o. make s.o. show'; *udu-* 'sleep' *udut-* 'put to sleep'.

The reciprocal affix /-Iš/ marks reciprocal action, mutual or accompanied action, or assistive action, e.g. *ažɨldaš-* 'work together', *körüš-* 'look at e.o.', *nomčuš-* 'help read'.[28] The reflexive is marked by /-In/ (e.g. *beletken-* 'prepare self', *dolgan-* 'turn self', *soktun-* 'hit self'), rarely also /-DIn/ (Krueger 1977: 146) *boldun-* 'be formed, calculated', *adat(t)ɨn-* 'be named, called; give self name'). On occassion, the reflexive affix has a more general de-/intransitivizing or even passivizing effect. The passive is usually marked by the suffix /-Il/, but in some verbs a causative affix has a passive meaning, *ködürül-* 'be lifted', *tɨvɨl-* 'be found', 'be located'; *ölür-* 'kill' > *ölürt-* 'be killed'.

2.2.3 Verbal Modifiers (participles, converbs)

2.2.3.1 Converbs

Converbs constitute one of the most important parts of the Tyvan verb system. Several different converbs are used in Tyvan, some with an extensive range of functions and others quite restricted. While implicit in the converb/participle distinction in the Turkological literature is the lack of ability on the part of converbs to be inflectable elements, such inflection nevertheless is found with certain affixes traditionally considered converbs in Tyvan studies (IP 1961, Menges 1956, 1959, Katanov 1903), e.g. /-GAš/; see below.

2.2.3.1.1 Converb ending in -p

Foremost among the converbs is /-(I)p/. This is the converb form that lexical verb stems appear in in almost every auxiliary verb construction in Tyvan, including the present tense formation and the evidential past .

(129) *men Kiziłda čurttap tur men*
I K.-LOC live-CV AUX 1
'I live in Kyzyl'

dürgen xalɨp tur men
fast drive-CV AUX 1
'I drive fast'

[28] For example, the distributive subject function of the REC (where the sentence is understood as meaning each one of the subjects individually performed the action of the verb) can be seen in forms such as (Letjagina 1989: 73)

(i)
školaga eŋ-ne baštay kelgen bičii kižiler "školačɨ men"-dep
school-DAT most-EMPH first come-PAST small person-PL schoolchild 1 say-CV

čorgaaral=bile čugaalažɨr
pride=INS speak-REC-P/F
'the little people that have come to school for the very first time each proudly declare "I am a schoolchild"'.

ii. *moskvalap čoruur men*
Moscow-VSF-CV go-P/F 1
'I'm going via Moscow'

inek saap tur men
cow milk-CV AUX 1
'I'm milking a cow'

iii. *minutalap nomču*
minute-CV read
'read for a minute!'

sigennep kaaptɨvɨs
hay-VSF-CV AUX-PAST.II
'we've already gone haying'

The converb in /-(I)p/ commonly serves to conjoin two predicates, where the first predicate is understood as possessing all the inflectional affixes of the following form. [29]

(130) *čaštar udup, dɨštanzɨnnar*
youth-PL sleep-CV rest-3.IMP-PL
'let the youths sleep and rest' (IP 1961: 397)

Note, however, that certain auxiliary verbs themselves in complex-AUX constructions appear in a bare stem form rather than the /-(I)p/ converb form.

(131) *maŋnap bar čɨtkan*
run-CV TLOC AUX-PAST.I
'was running (to there)' (Sh 1995: 27)

2.2.3.1.2 Converb ending in -A/-y

A second important converb in Tyvan is the /-A/ converb. There are several allomorphs of this converb. /-A/ is used after most non-derived consonant-final stems, while it appears as /-y/ following vowel-final verb stems, for example *kel-* > *kele* 'coming', *olur-* > *olura* 'sitting, *nomču-* > *nomčuy* 'reading', *kɨlašta-* > *kɨlaštay* 'moving, walking'. With stems that have an epenthetic high vowel, the allomorph is -I (with loss/lack of the epenthetic I preceding the stem-final consonant); note that /-I/ forms of the /-A/ converb are commonly found with verbs that contain the PASS, RFLXV, or REC voice suffixes, e.g. *dɨŋnalɨ* 'being heard', *közürzü* 'helping move/nomadize', *körnü* 'being seen, observed' < *körün-*, *čɨnnɨ* 'being warmed, heated' < *čɨlɨn-*. The following minimal pairs show that the /-(I)p/ converb and the /-A/y/ converb contrast with various auxiliaries.

(132) i. *bižip kaaptɨm*
write-CV AUX-PAST.II-1
I already wrote (it).

bižiy kaaptɨm
write-CV AUX-PAST.II-1
I already wrote (it) quickly.

ii. *ol kɨlaštap berdi*
s/he walk-CV AUX-PAST.II-3
he went for a walk.

ol kɨlaštay berdi
s/he walk-CV AUX-PAST.II-3
he's gone for a walk (is still walking)

iii. *ol oynap berdi*
s/he play-CV BEN-PAST.II-3
S/he played for us.

ol oynay berdi
s/he play-CV AUX-PAST.II-3
S/he began to play.

iv. *ool olura, duŋmazɨ=bile oynap olurgan*
boy sit-CV younger.sibling-3=INS play-CV AUX-PAST.I
'the boy was sitting and playing with his sister' (BK 1987b: 40)

[29] Note that in this function, -(I)p can appear before a verb in the -A converb form.

2.2.3.1.3 Converb ending in -GAš

In the Tyvan grammatical tradition, the converb in /-GAš/ is called the 'past converb'. It frequently expresses an action that has been carried out before the action of the main verb, e.g. in sequences of actions by a single subject. In other cases it seems to express an action simultaneous to the main verb (i, v). The converb /-GAš/ further serves to mark causally subordinate clauses (vii). In either of the first two functions, /-GAš/ may take a GEN case marker (iv, vi). It may also appear in the ABL case marking a temporally subordinate clause of the 'after'-type. The various patternings of the affix suggest that /-GAš/ doesn't neatly fit into either the converb or participle category.

(133) i. *Kizil čorup orgaš orukka xoynu kördüm*
K. go-CV AUX-CV road-DAT sheep-ACC see-PAST.II-1
'while going to Kyzyl, I saw a sheep in the road'

ii. *xoy(nu) körüp kaaš ap aldım*
sheep'(-ACC) see-CV AUX-CV take-CV SBEN-PAST.II-1
'having seen the sheep, I took it'

iii. *kelgeštiŋ, menče dolgavıt*
come-CV-GEN me-ALL phone-IMP-PERF
'when you return, call me'

iv. *nomnu nomčaaš, ol kižiniŋ čurttalgazın šuptuzun bilip aldım*
book-ACC read-CV s/he-GEN life-3-ACC all-3-ACC know-CV SBEN-PAST.II-1
'having read this book, I learned everything about his life'

v. *oon Kara-kıs xülümzürüy kaapkaš, čugaalap egeleen*
then K. laugh-CV AUX-CV speak-CV begin-PAST.I
'then laughing, Kara-kis began to speak' (Kunaa 1970: 21)

vi. *kiži kelgeš, men anaar bar albadım*
person come-CV I to.there go SBEN-NEG-PAST.II-1
'because people came, I didn't go there' (UL 1986: 152)

xem uglatkaš, parom čorbastaan
river flood-CV ferry go-CES-PAST.I
'the ferry is not running because the river flooded'

vii. *düün ol kiži kettine algaštıŋ čemnene algaštıŋ čuuna algaštıŋ*
yesterday s/he dress-CV SBEN-CV-GEN eat-CV SBEN-CV-GEN wash-CV SBEN-CV-GEN

školaga čorupkan (... ili školaže
school-DAT go-PERF-PAST.I or school-ALL
'yesterday, he got dressed, ate, washed up and went to school'

/-GAš/ in combination with the PERF (in the form -(I)p) gives the meaning of an action that is done quickly or to only a small degree.

(134) i. *čugle čaŋgıs yablak čipkeš üngen men*

only one apple eat-PERF-CV go out-PAST.I 1
'Having eaten quickly just one apple, I left'

cf.

ii. *čem čigeš, üngen men*
food eat-CV go out-PAST.I 1
Having eaten food, I left.

Note that on occasion the converb in /-GAš/ can be used with a past tense meaning in a finite/main clause.

(135) *bičemde sayazanaktap čoraan čerlerimni körgeš*
childhood-1-LOC play-CV AUX-PAST.I place-PL-1-ACC see-CV
'I saw places where I used to play in my childhood' (D 1960: 122)

2.2.3.1.4 Converb affix -GAIA

The converb affix /-GAIA/ forms temporally subordinate clauses of the 'since'-type. A range of cognate forms can be found throughout the Turkic language family, e.g. Xakas /-GAli/.

(136) i. *ačam zavodka ažıldaala čeerbe čıl aškan*
father-1 factory-DAT work-CV 20 year pass-PAST.I
'it's been 20 years since my father worked at the factory' (UL 1986: 152)

ii. *meeŋ ada-iem moon čorutkala čeerbi čıl aža bergen*
I-GEN parents-1 from.here go-PERF-CV 20 year pass-CV INCH-PAST.I
'twenty years have passed since my parents left here'

2.2.3.1.5 Comverb ending in -BIšaan

Simultaneous, sequential or durative (DUR) action may be expressed in Tyvan through the use of the converb /-BIšaan/. Used preceding an auxiliary verb of the present tense, it expresses continuative aspect (i) in various tenses. It may also appear on the verb in finite main clauses (ii, vi, vii) without the auxiliary meaning 'still Xing', 'keep Xing', etc.[30]

(137) i. *olar amda bibliotekada olurubušaan nomčunup olurlarlar*
they still library-LOC sit-CV read-RFLXV-CV AUX-PL-PL
'they are still sitting in the library and reading'

ii. *sen ol nomnu nomčuvušaan sen be*
you that book read-DUR 2 Q
Are you still reading that book?

iii. *nomčup turbušaan, čemnenip turdum*
read-CV AUX-DUR eat-CV AUX-PAST.I.1
While reading, I ate.

[30] The ending *-BIšaan* may have arisen from a fusing of the old 'Oghuzic' *-mIš* ending and the particle *aan*. Among the Siberian Turkic languages, the historical *-mIš ending (in the archiphonemic shape -BIt) is found only in Yakut (Saxa), see Anderson 1998b, 1998c.

iv. *čemnenip orgaš, nomčuvušaan men*
eat-CV AUX-GER read-DUR 1
While eating, I was reading.

v. *avam ırlavišaan ineen saap olur*
mother-1 sing-DUR cow-3-ACC milk-CV AUX
My mother milks her cow while singing.

vi. *ol menje körbüšaan olur* *nomčuvušaan tur*
s/he I-ALL look-DUR AUX read-DUR AUX
'she keeps looking at me' '(he) continues to read'

vii. *ol kiži kartinaže amda körbüšaan*
that person picture-ALL now/still look-DUR
'he keeps looking at the picture'

According to Bergel'son and Kibrik (1987b), /-BIšaan/ has another function, that of marking not only action simultaneous to the main clause action, but specifically when the subjects of the two clauses are the same; when they are not, /-(I)p/ is used.

(138) i. *avazı uruun čemgerbišaan čugaalažıp olur*
mother-3 daughter-3-ACC feed-CV talk-REC-CV AUX
'her$_i$ mother$_j$ is talking to her$_j$ daughter$_i$ while feeding her' (BK 1987b: 36, 37)

ii. *oglu ačazınga ettedirip turda avazı ıglap turgan*
son-3 father-3-DAT hit-CAUS/PASS-CV AUX-LOC mother-3 cry-CV AUX-PAST.I
'his$_i$ mother$_k$ was crying when his$_j$/her$_k$ son$_i$ was being beaten by his$_i$ father$_j$'

2.2.3.2 Participles

Participles play a major role in Tyvan morphosyntax. Most types of main and subordinate, complement, and 'relative-type clauses involve participial verb forms. There are several participial forms used in Tyvan. The most common of these are the PAST (i) and the P/F (ii). The UNACMPL affix (iii) and the modal form in -KI deg (iv) also have non-finite or participial uses.

(139) i. *bir tuyaar kelgen kiži* *eŋ türgen maŋnaan kiži*
one time come-PAST.I person most fast run-PAST.I person
'the person who came for the first time' 'the person who ran fastest'

ii. *čorbas mašına* *ažıldaar ulus*
go-NEG.P/F car work-P/F people
'a car that doesn't run' 'working people'

iii. *ažılın dooskalak ulus maŋaa demdegledip alıŋar* (!)
work-3.ACC finish-UNACMPL people here register-CV SBEN-PL.IMP
'the people who will soon finish their work register here' (UL 1986: 209)

iv. *ınčangaš kiži baškınıŋ salıpkı deg bügü aytırıglarınga beletkenir apaar*
therefore person teacher-GEN put-PERF-MOD all question-PL-3-DAT prepare-P/F AUX-P/F
'therefore you must prepare for all the questions the teacher could ask' (Oyun 1983)

When used in subordinate or relative clauses, the person of the subject of the verb is realized affixally through the use of Class-I markers. Thus, main and subordinate clause uses of the PAST in /-GAn/ and the P/F in /-Vr/ are distinguished by their agreement class: main clauses use Class-II markers, and subordinate clauses Class-I. Note that in addition to the P/F (140) and the PAST (141), the UNACMPL participle also has personal forms in subordinate or relative-type clause usages (142).

(140) *bilirim čerler köstüp kelgileen*
know-P/F-1 place-PL show-CV AUX-ITER-PAST.I
they were shown the places I know' (UL 1986: 209)

(141) *meeŋ belekke bergenim (ıškaš) aržıldır*
I-GEN gift-DAT give-PAST.I-1 like shawl
'this is the shawl which is (like) the one I gave' (UL 1986: 228)

ii. *šaanda bistiŋ čurttap turganıvıs čerde škola tudup kaan*
long.ago we-GEN live-CV AUX-PAST-1PL place-LOC school build-CV AUX-PAST.I
'a school was built where we used to live' (Ch 1984: 41)

(142) *školanı dooskalaam silerge bildingir*
school-ACC finish-UNACMPL-1 you-DAT known
'you know that I'm to finish school in the near future' (M 1959: 90)

Person marked P/F forms can appear in emphatic constructions using a predicative demonstrative. These have several different functions: in non-auxiliary constructions, the sense corresponds to English 'be about to X'. These may also appear in auxiliary verb constructions with semantics typical of the auxiliary (ii).

(143) i. *men azıldaarım bo-dur*
I work-P/F-1 this-ASSRTV
'I'm about to work'
(~ ol-dur) (~ meeŋ..bo)

ii. *men ažıldap turarım bo*
I work-CV AUX-P/F-1 this
'I'm working right now'
(M 1968: 242)

In addition to the above constructions, participles in Tyvan are frequently used with auxiliary nouns of various types (144). In these, the person and number features of the subject (when indexed) are realized not on the participle, but on the auxiliary noun (i.e. the head of the phrase) (145).[31]

(144) *čazın škola tarap turar üyede Agılıg suurnuŋ eŋ ulug bayı men bolur men*
in.spring school let.out-CV AUX-P/F time-LOC A. village-GEN most big rich-3 I be-P/F 1
'in the spring when school is about to let out, I'll be the richest one in Agılıg'
(UL 1986: 226)

ii. *xar erip egeleer öyde kara-baarzıktar užup kelirler*
snow melt-CV begin-P/F time-LOC starling-PL fly-CV CLOC-P/F-PL
'when the snow begins to melt, the starlings arrive'

iii. *bodu kelir užun bižik ıtpadı*

[31] Sometimes the auxiliary noun is in the third person possessive form, and not second (rarely first), as might be expected. See **2.1.1** for examples.

self-3 come-P/F for letter send-NEG-PAST.II
'because he intended to come himself, he didn't send a letter' (Sh 1993: 72)

(145) *aalɨmga kaš xonuk turar üyemde suurda avamnɨŋ*
village-1-DAT how.many day AUX-P/F time-1-LOC village-LOC mother-1-GEN

bažɨŋɨn septep turup bergen men
house-3-ACC repair-CV AUX-CV BEN-PAST.I 1
'in the course of several days I was at my parents in the village and made a number of repairs on their house' (Sh 1995: 31)

ii. *bis čemnenip olurar aravɨsta, bir kiži iyi katap soktadɨ*
we eat-CV AUX-P/F between-1PL-LOC one person two times knock-PAST.II
'while we ate a man knocked twice'(UL 1986: 88)

Participles in Tyvan are also commonly found in a range of case forms to create subordinate/complement clauses of various types. These are discussed in **3.3.2.2** below.

2.3 Auxiliary verbs in Tyvan

As in Turkic languages in general, auxiliary verbs play an important role in the Tyvan verbal system, performing a wide range of functions. More than twenty semantically bleached auxiliary verbs occur in Tyvan, indexing various aspectual and modal categories. From a typological perspective, Tyvan belongs to the group of languages which predominantly or exclusively exhibit the 'Basic' inflectional pattern in auxiliary verb constructions (Anderson 1999), where the auxiliary verb is the inflectional or morphosyntactic head of the VP, i.e. where the obligatory tense/aspect/mood and person/number categories of the clause and its referents are indexed. Auxiliaries generally follow a converb form of the lexical stem (usually /-(I)p/, sometimes /-A/-y/), although sometimes participial (or tense-marked) forms are used with certain individual auxiliaries.

2.3.1.1 *alɨr aar*

The verb *al-* , aside from its lexical meaning 'take, get', has several functions as an auxiliary verb. Following a lexical stem in the /-(I)p/ converb form, it acts as either one of a range of completive or perfective auxiliary verbs, or to mark the voice category 'self-benefactive' (SBEN), see below. Following the lexical verb stem in the /-A/-y/ converb form, it has the function of a capabilitive mood (CAP).

(146) i. *čemnen al(ɨŋar)* *čiy šaap (~ tɨrtɨp, ~ sop) al*
eat SBEN-(PL) eat-CV AUX-CV SBEN
'you (all) eat!' 'eat (it) up quickly!' (Sh 1995: 32)

ii. *ol bižiy albas*
s/he write-CV CAP-NEG.FUT
'she can't write'

The P/F verb form *alɨr* 'take' also has a related short form *aar* .

(147) *am čedip aar men* *bižip aar men*
now come-CV SBEN 1 write SBEN 1
'I'll come now' 'I'll write it down'

2.3.1.2 *appar*

The verb *appar-* 'bring' functions as an auxiliary verb marking the necessitive mood. It follows a participial/tense-marked lexical verb.

(148) *boraannap egeleen bolganda, bis čoruur appargan bis*
storm-VSF-CV begin-PAST.I AUX-PAST.I-LOC we go-P/F NEC-PAST.I 1PL
'because/once the storms (had) started, we had to leave' (Sh 1993: 67)

2.3.1.3 *bar-, baar*

The verb *bar-* 'go' also plays an important role in the auxiliary verb system. Like *al*, it marks a completive/perfective action. It also marks translocative (TLOC) action, see below.

(149) *ol bižiy soksap bargan*
s/he write-CV stop-CV AUX-PAST.I
'she stopped writing'

ii. *čugaalažɨp olurgan uruglar šimeen bardɨ*
converse-CV AUX-PAST child-PL noise AUX-PAST.II
'the chattering children quieted down' (UL 1986: 214)

2.3.1.4 *ber-, beer*

The verb *ber-* 'give' in Tyvan also has several auxiliary functions. Used following a lexical stem in the /-(I)p/ converb form, *ber-* is another of the auxiliaries marking a completive or perfective action. In addition, *ber-* may be used as a marker of benefactive voice (see below).

(150) *ažɨldap turup bergen*
work-CV AUX-CV AUX-PAST.I
'begin and continue to work persistently'

With the lexical stem in the /-A/-y/ converb form, an inchoative-type meaning (INCH) is expressed.

(151) *Uranmaa klass ežinge didim eves kɨlɨštap čede bergen*
U. class door-3-DAT brave not go-CV AUX-CV INCH-PAST.I
'U shyly went up to the classroom door' (K 1970: 57)

ii. *ol arazɨnda bičii uruglar kɨskɨrɨža bergen*
meanwhile small child-PL shout-CV INCH-PAST.I
'in the mean time the small children began to shout' (B 68, 204)

iii. *aarɨy bergenimni bilip kagdɨm*
be.sick-CV INCH-PAST-1-ACC know-CV AUX-PAST.II-1
'I felt that I was sick' (Ch 1984: 71)

2.3.1.5 *čɨt-, čɨdar*

The auxiliary verb *čɨt-* 'lie' when preceded by the /-(I)p/ converb creates a capabilitive mood for some speakers of Tyvan.

(153) *bister oynap čɨdar bis*
we-PL play-CV CAP.II-P/F 1PL
'we can play'

ii. *olar oynap čıdarlar*
they play-CV CAP.II-P/F-PL
'they can play'

2.3.1.6 *čor(u)*

The motion verb *čor(u)-* 'go, move' is also extremely commonly used as an auxiliary verb. It expresses a kind of imperfective/durative aspect (i). On occasion, it is best rendered in English translation with 'used to X', i.e. a type of habitual past (iv)

(154) i. *šaanda iyi alıškı čoraan*
long.ago two brother go-PAST.I
'long ago there were two brothers'

ii. *amıdıral duyayında bodap čor men*
life about-LOC think-CV AUX 1
'I think about life'

iii. *soktap kaap čoraan*
hit.with.stick-CV AUX-CV AUX-PAST.I
'was hitting with a stick' (Sh 1995: 29)

iv. *sen bičii turuŋda seŋee ırlar ırlap berip čoraan men*
you little AUX-2-LOC you-DAT song-PL sing-CV BEN-CV AUX-PAST.I 1
'when you were little, I used to sing you songs' (BK 1987b: 38)

2.3.1.7 *egele-*

The verb *egele-* 'begin' marks inchoative (INCH) aspect in Tyvan. As with most other Tyvan auxiliary verbs, *egele-* follows a lexical stem in the /-(I)p/ converb form. For some speakers, *egele-* may appear in a doubly inchoative marked construction with the auxiliary verb *ber-*.

(155) i. *nomčuy egeley bergen*
read-CV begin-CV INCH-PAST.I
'began to read'

ii. *ol ulustar oynap egeley bergen*
that people-PL play-CV begin-CV INCH-PAST.I
'they began to play'

iii. *oon Kara-kıs xülümzürüy kaapkaš, čugaalap egeleen*
then K. laugh-CV AUX-CV speak-CV INCH-PAST.I
'then laughing, Kara-kis began to speak' (K 1970: 21)

2.3.1.8 *kag-, kaar*

Aside from *tur* and *bol-*, the most common and characteristically Tyvan auxiliary is *kag-* 'put, leave'. This auxiliary usually adds the meaning 'already' to a verb. It may follow either the /-(I)p/ or the /-A/-y/ converb.

(156) *ol kinonu körüp kaan men*
that film-ACC see-CV AUX 1
I've already seen that film

ii. *šay kutkulay kaaptım*
tea make-ITER-CV AUX-CV-PAST.II.1
I have already made tea (many times)

iii. *aarıy bergenimni bilip kagdım*
be.sick-CV AUX-PAST-1-ACC know-CV AUX-PAST.II-1
'I felt that I was sick' (Ch 1984: 71)

2.3.1.9 *kör- köör*

The common verb *kör-* 'see' also plays a significant role in the Tyvan auxiliary verb system. Following a lexical stem in the /-(I)p/ converb form, this is the means of indexing the attemptive mood (ATT), i.e. 'try to...'. It frequently denotes a polite imperative.

(157) *nomčup kör*
read ATT
Please read! (*or* Try to read!)

ii. *bo xemge baliktap kördüvüs*
this river-DAT fish-CV ATT-PAST.II-1PL
'we tried to fish in this river' (Sh 1995: 35)

2.3.1.10 *olur(-), oor*

Apart from its role in the tense system discussed above, *olur-* 'sit' also functions as an auxiliary marking imperfective aspect.

(158) *čugaalažıp olurgan uruglar šimeen bardı*
converse-CV AUX-PAST child-PL noise AUX-PAST.II
'the chattering children quieted down' (UL 1986: 214)

2.3.1.11 *tur(-), turar*

The most common auxiliary in Tyvan is *tur-*, the basic lexical meaning of which is 'stand'. It is the basic present tense construction, in both progressive and non-progressive meanings.

(159) *seni saktıp tur men* — *xalıp tur men*
you-ACC remember-CV AUX 1 — run-CV AUX 1
'I remember you' — 'I'm running'

In addition to its role as a marker of present tense--whose original meaning was likely a progressive present (see above)--*tur-* can be used as a marker of imperfective or progressive aspect. Like most other auxiliary verbs in Tyvan, *tur-* is used following a lexical stem in the /-(I)p/ converb form.

(160) *aarıy beerimni bilip turdum*
be.sick-CV AUX-P/F-1-ACC know-CV AUX-PAST.II-1
'I was feeling (that I'm) sick' (Ch 1984: 71)

In addition to the use of *tur* following a /-(I)p/ converb form in Tyvan adduced above, the PAST.I of *tur*, *turgan*, can be used with stems already bearing a tense marker or a converb other than /-(I)p/.

(161) *olar oynap bolur turgan* / they play-CV CAP-P/F AUX-PAST.I / 'they could play'
kelgen turgan / come-PAST AUX-PAST.I / 'has come'

ii. *irlavišaan turgan sen* / work-CV AUX-PAST.I / 'you were (still) singing'
öörenmišaan turgan men / study-CV AUX-PAST.I 1 / 'I was still studying'

tur- is also the preferred auxiliary of choice in a number of sentences with nominal predicates inflected in a non-present tense, including possessive constructions (see **2.1.1.5** and **2.2.1.3.4** above).

(162) *avam bažiŋga tur(u)baan* / mother-1 house-DAT AUX-NEG-PAST.I / 'my mother wasn't at home'
avam bažiŋga tur(u)bas / mother-1 house-DAT AUX-NEG.FUT / 'my mother won't be at home'

ii. *mende üš nomnar čok turgan* / I-LOC three book-PL NEG.COP AUX-PAST.I / 'I didn't have three books'

On occasion *tur-* may be used in sentences with a perfective meaning; it may even be overtly marked with the PERF affix:

(163) *àttar kɨlaštaží bergenner, oon doktaap turupkannar* / horse-PL move-REC-CV INCH-PAST-PL then stop-CV AUX-PERF-PAST.I-PL / 'the horses moved together and then stopped' (L 1989: 71)

The combination of a converb ending in /-(I)p/ and auxiliary *turar* yields a continuative present:

(164) *ol kiži amda öörenip turar* / s/he now/still study-CV AUX-P/F / 'he is still studying'
ol amda öörenip turar / s/he still study-CV AUX-P/F / 'he is still studying'

ii. *olar amda öörenip turarler* / they still study-CV AUX-P/F-PL / 'they are still studying'

On occasion in rapid speech, the auxiliary verb *tur(ar)* may be fused into the preceding verbal element:

(165) *ol kiži kino pariksaptɨrar* / s/he movies go-DES-CV-AUX-P/F / 's/he wants to go the movies'

2.3.1.12 Other auxiliary verbs

Sudden or unexpected action may be expressed by several auxiliaries in Tyvan, including *šap*, *düš*, *sok*, *tirt*, and *is*, which are mostly used with the /-A/-y/ converb form.

(166) *čiy šaap (~ tɨrtip, ~ sop) al*

eat-CV AUX-CV SBEN / 'eat (it) up quickly!' (Sh 1995: 32)

Other auxiliary verbs are also found in Tyvan; these include *-p čɨt-* progressive, durative, *-p bil-* 'know how', *-p kir-* a completive or terminative, *-p čas-* 'accidental action', etc. Certain auxiliary verbs can be used with a preceding lexical verb in the P/F form, e.g. (Sat 1959: 82) *-r čet-* 'to X soon' or *-r čas-* 'to X a little', 'almost, nearly X(ed)'.

2.3.2 *bol-*

The verb *bol-* 'be' performs several functions in Tyvan. First, *bol-* serves as the inflectable verb stem in a number of complex tense and mood forms, as well as in certain complex subordinate clause predicates. In these formations, it follows a tense-marked/participial form of the lexical verb stem.

(167) *biske bildinmes boldu* / we-DAT be.known-NEG.FUT AUX-PAST.II / 'we didn't know' = (it wasn't known to us)

ii. *Ayan daarta meŋee kelir boldu* / A. tomorrow I-DAT come-P/F AUX-PAST.II / 'A promised to come to me tomorrow' (Ch 1995: 14)

iii. *bičii urug, buttarɨ öl čoraan bolgaš, aarɨy bergen boor* / small child foot-PL-3 wet AUX-PAST because be.sick-CV INCH-PAST.I PROB / 'the child probably got sick because he went out with wet feet'(UL 1986: 82)

iv. *bir eves men ol bažiŋ(n)ɨ tɨvar bolzumza meŋi örünčü bolur iyik* / if I that house-ACC find-P/F AUX-CON-1-CON I-DAT happy AUX-P/F SBJNCTV / 'if I had found that house, I would have been happy'

v. *bir eves bo bažiŋnɨ tɨvalgan turgan bolzumza men amɨraar turgan men* / if this house-ACC find-(SBEN)-PAST AUX-PAST(.I) AUX-CON-1-CON I rejoice-P/F AUX-PAST.I 1 / 'if I had found this house I would have been happy'

Used after a stem in the /-(I)p/ converb form, *bol-* carries the meaning of a capabilitive mood (CAP).

(168) *men oynap bolur men* / I play-CV CAP-P/F 1 / 'I can play'
olar oynap bolur turgan / they play-CV CAP-P/F AUX-PAST.I / 'they could have played'

ii. *olar öreelge kirip bolur turgan* / they room-DAT enter-CV CAP-P/F AUX-PAST.I / 'they could enter the room'

iii. *mal kadarip čoraaš udup bolbas* / livestock tend-CV AUX-CV sleep-CV CAP-NEG.P/F / 'you can't sleep (when) tending livestock' (K 1970: 67-8)

With nominal predicates, *bol-* may serve as the host stem for marking tense/mood categories other than the present-future in main clauses:

(169) *koža aalga baarımga kiži čok boorga, udavayn=daa čanıpkan men*
next village-DAT go-P/F-1-DAT person not be-P/F-DAT sleep-NEG.CV=EMPH go.home-PERF-PAST.I 1
'(when) I got to the neighboring village and there being no people there, I returned home without even spending the night' (B 1960: 137)

Finally, *bol-*, in the form *bolur ~ boor*, has become a (discourse) marker of probabilitive mood. This follows a participial/tense-marked lexical verb.

(170) *bičii urug, buttarı öl čoraan bolgaš, aarıy bergen boor*
small child foot-PL-3 wet AUX-PAST.I because be.sick-CV INCH-PAST.I PROB
'the child probably got sick because he went out with wet feet' (UL 1986: 82)

ii. *čayaan-dös oynap turgan boor iyin*
spirit play-CV AUX-PAST.I PROB DISC
'(by all appearances) the spirit(s) were playing about' (L 1989: 63)

2.3.3 Self-Benefactive and Benefactive

The auxiliary verbs *al-* and *ber-* are becoming grammaticalized as markers of self-benefactive (SBEN) and benefactive (BEN) voice, respectively. As mentioned above, these both have other functions in the Tyvan auxiliary verb system. In these voice functions, they both appear following the /-(I)p/ converb form. As their names suggest, these verbs are used in constructions where emphasis is being placed on performance of the action by the subject to its own benefit (SBEN) or the benefit of some other referent in the discourse (BEN).[32]

(171) i. *bižip aldım* *sütten ižip al*
write-CV SBEN-PAST.II-1 milk-ABL drink-CV SBEN
'I wrote (it) (down) for my self' 'drink some milk'

ii. *biži berdim* vs. *bižip berdim*
read-CV INCH-PAST.II-1 write-CV BEN-PAST.II-1
'I began to write' 'I wrote (it) for someone else'

iii. *septep turup bergen* *xlepten kezip ber*
repair-CV AUX-CV BEN-PAST.I bread-ABL cut-CV BEN
'was doing/used to do repairs' 'cut up some bread' (K 1970: 33)
(Sh 1995: 27)

2.3.4 Cislocative and Translocative

As in all the other Turkic languages of the Altai-Sayan (e.g. Xakas, Altai, Shor, Chulym Turkic, Tofalar), the motion verbs *bar-* 'go' and *kel-* 'come' have been grammaticalized as markers of translocative and cislocative action, respectively. These mark direction away from or towards the speaker/speech-act, etc.

The verb preceding the CLOC appears in the /-(I)p/ converb form; the lexical stem in the TLOC form is in either the /-(I)p/ or the /-A-y/ converb form TLOC (and CLOC) themselves may appear in a bare stem form rather than the /-(I)p/ converb form.

[32] It may be possible to think of these categories as analogous to Subject-Version and Object-Version in such languages as Ket (Werner 1997).

(171) *ol čoruy bargan* *čedip keer men*
he go-CV TLOC-PAST.I come-CV CLOC-P/F 1
'He's gone away' 'I'll come'

ii. *àt maŋnap čoruy bargan* *àt maŋnap čoruy bargan*
horse run-CV AUX-CV TLOC-PAST.I horse run-CV AUX-CV TLOC-PAST.I
'the horse ran away' (B 204) 'the horse went running away'

3 Syntax

3.1 Sentence types, copular, verbal clauses

In Tyvan, several formal types of clauses are found, including nominal, verbal, participial, converbal, copular, and predicate-nominal. The predicate occupies the rightmost position in the clause (in non-emphatic sentences).

(172) *xlep bar be* *(xlep) bar(dir)* *(xlep) čok(tur)*
bread COP Q (bread) COP-(ASSRTV) (bread) NEG.COP-(ASSRT
'Is there bread?' 'there is (bread)' 'there isn't (bread)'

Verbal clauses can appear in a variety of tense-aspect-mood forms, with or without auxiliary verbs.

(173) *nomda kančaar bižeen-dir, ınčaar bilip al*
book-LOC what.a write-PAST-ASSRTV thus know-CV SBEN
'remember it as it's written in the book' (B 1960: 137)

With nominal and copular sentences (in both existential and possessive functions), present tense forms are unmarked (with an optional assertive particle), while in all non-present indicative constructions the appropriately inflected form of *tur-* (or *bol-*) follows the nominal element.

(174) *bo bažıŋda on üš kvartira bar*
this house-LOC thirteen apartment COP
'there are 13 apartments in this building'

ii. *kelbes men, čüge deerge čayım čok*
come-NEG.P/F 1 because free.time-1 NEG.COP
'I won't come because I have no time' (B 244)

iii. *mende üš nomnar čok turgan*
I-LOC three book-PL NEG.COP AUX-PAST.I
'I didn't have three books'

iv. *aŋ kelir bolza, karaŋgızı kedergey oran-dır*
animal come-P/F be-CON dark-3 extremely place-ASSRTV
'if an animal comes, this gets to be an uncomfortable place!' (B 1960: 137)

v. *tıvalar=daa orustar=daa, šuptu bir dömey kižiler*
Tyvan-PL=EMPH Russian-PL=EMPH all one similar person-PL
'Tyvans and Russians--they're all the same kind of people' (L 1989: 63)

A few other, less common types of sentences are also attested in Tyvan. The first type involves the use of 'predicative nouns'. There are three common ones of these, *čüve* 'thing', *kiži* 'person', and *ulus* 'people'. The last two of these are used with singular (175) and plural (176) animate subjects, respectively. *čüve* (177) is the most common one, shows no such restriction to inanimates (frequently being used with animate subjects as well), and is found in a wide range of simple and complex sentences.

(175) *men örgelernin inčaldir čikilaarin bilir kiži men*
I gopher-PL-GEN thus shriek-P/F-3.ACC know-P/F person 1
'I know that gophers cry like that' (Ch 1984: 70)

ii. *bügümnü bodumga ap čoruur kiži men*
all-1-ACC self-1-DAT take-CV AUX-P/F person 1
'I'm taking all of mine with me' (IP 1961: 242)

(176) *inčalza=daa direktor kiži düžürer dugayinda aytirigni bögün*
however'=EMPH director person choose-P/F about question-ACC today

minda čugaalašpayn turar ulus bis
here speak-REC-NEG.CV AUX-P/F people 1PL
'however, here we won't discuss the question on whether/how to select a director' (UL 1986: 228)

ii. *bis silernin=bile biče xöörešse deeš kelgen ulus bis*
we y'all-GEN=INS a.little converse-CON in.order.to come-PAST people 1PL
'we came to talk a little with y'all' (D 1960: 123)

(177) *ol bistiinče xünnüg kelir čüve*
he we-P/CP-3-ALL day-ADJ come-P/F thing
'he comes to us (lit. ours) daily' (B 132)

ii. *meen aas-kežik čogumdan šuptu čüve bolgan*
I-GEN happiness no-1-ABL all thing be-PAST.I
'all of my troubles were due to the fact that I have no joy' (Ch 1984: 151)

3.2 Simple Sentence

In Tyvan the basic constituent order is subject-object-verb. Within the noun phrase, the maximal expansion is Demonstrative-Possessive-AdjectivePhrase-Noun. Within the verb phrase, an indirect object may precede or follow a direct object; indefinite direct objects frequently come in immediately preverbal position. Adjuncts can appear throughout the clause before the predicative element.

(178) *bo meen en eki àdim*
this I-GEN most good horse-1
'this best horse of mine'

ii. *men bo nomnu silernin bažinnarda kördüm*
I this book y'all-GEN house-2PL-LOC see-PAST.II-1
'I saw this book in y'all's house'

iii. *ol kiži biske bo nomnu bergen*
that person we-DAT this book-ACC give-PAST.I
'he gave us this book'

Under certain instances of emphasis or focus, orders different from the basic SOV are encountered. This is true of both simple and complex sentences as well.

3.3 Complex sentences

3.3.1 Coordination

Coordinators are more frequently found in nominal constructions, than in verbal constructions in Tyvan; many of the actual words used as coordinators (*bolgaš*, *azi*, etc.), however, can be found in both nominal and verbal constructions.

(179) *xün čiridar bolgaš čilidar*
sun shine-P/F and warm-P/F
'the sun shines and warms' (Babushkin 242, 244)

ii. *xat xadaan baza čàs čaggan*
wind blow-PAST and rain precipitate-PAST.I
'the wind blew and it rained'

Two nouns may be joined using the INS clitic *=bile*. Note that the first member (the one that *=bile* is attached to) is unmarked for the case of the noun phrase, which is found on the second noun.

(180) *kandan-bile orlannin xari den*
Kandan=INS Orlan-GEN snow-3 equal
Kandan's and Orlan's ages are the same.

ii. *abakan-bile kizildin arazi*
Abakan=INS Kyzyl-GEN distance.between-3
between Abakan and Kyzyl

The -GAš converb may be used with semantically conjoined verbs. Simple juxtaposition of two verbs in the -p converb form also may be used in a coordinative function in Tyvan.

(181) *bargaš keldim*
go-CV CLOC-PAST.II-1
'I went and returned' (Ch 1995: 6)

3.3.2 Subordination

3.3.2.1 Subordination-types

The primary means of forming subordinate clauses in Tyvan is through the use of participles and converbs. Participles frequently appear in a range of case forms to mark subordinate clauses of various types (e.g. purposive, causal, temporal). Auxiliary nouns are frequently used in subordinate clauses with participles. Converbs of various types also perform a range of subtypes of clausal subordination. As in many Turkic languages, converb forms of *deer* 'say' e.g. *dep* or *deeš*, have been grammaticalized as complemetizers in certain individual functions, see below. Clauses with verbs in the CON mood constitute another subordinate clause subtype of Tyvan. Note that participial (including nominalizations) and converb forms in Tyvan preserve their internal syntax, for

example, the clause keeps its ACC-marked definite direct objects, agents of passives are still marked by the DAT, etc.

3.3.2.1.1 Participial Subordination

One of the most important means of marking clausal subordination in Tyvan is through the use of participles. Participles may be used in an uninflected form, or may be found in a range of case- and person-marked forms, with/without various auxiliary nouns, postpositions, etc. The subject of subordinate participial clauses is indexed using Class-I markers. If such marking is present in the verb form, an overt subject-NP may appear in either the GEN, the basic/nominative case, or rarely, in the ACC as well.

(182) GEN

i. *seeŋ dülgüürler čidirip alganıŋ užurundan, men bažıŋče iyi šak*
you-GEN key-PL lose-CV AUX-PAST-2 because-3-ABL I house-ALL 2 hour

ištinde kirip šıdavayn tur men
in-3-LOC enter-CV be.able-NEG.CV AUX 1
'because you lost the keys, I couldn't get in the house for two hours'(Ch 1984: 170)

ii. *meeŋ kelgenimge ačam amıraar, aažok öörüür boor dep*
I-GEN come-PAST.I-1-DAT father-1 be.pleased-P/F very be.happy-P/F PROB COMP

bodaan men
think-PAST.I 1
'I thought that my father would be very happy that I came' (Ch 1984: 11)

(183) unmarked

i. *sen čoruuruŋ murnunda, men seeŋ=bile čugaalažıksap tur men*
you go-P/F-2 before-3-LOC I you-GEN=INS converse-DES-CV AUX 1
'I'd like to talk to you before you go' (UL 1986: 86)

ii. *men am=daa törüttümeenimde*
I now=EMPH born-NEG-PAST.I-1-LOC
'when I was not even born yet' (B 204)

(184) ACC

seni bažıŋda čok deerinden öske aŋaa čünü=daa čugaalavadım
you-ACC home-LOC NEG.COP say-P/F-3-ABL except 3.DAT what-ACC=EMPH say-NEG-PAST.II-1
'I didn't tell her anything except that you weren't home' (UL 1986: 81)

Relative pronouns are basically unknown in Tyvan. Generally, participial clauses perform relative-clause functions in Tyvan.

(185) *bilirim čerler köstüp kelgileen*
know-P/F-1 place-PL show-CV AUX-ITER-PAST.I
they were shown the places I know' (UL 1986: 209)

ii. *šaanda bistiŋ čurttap turganıvıs čerde škola tudup kaan*
long.ago we-GEN live-CV AUX-PAST-1PL place-LOC school build-CV AUX-PAST.I
'a school was built where we used to live' (Ch 1984: 41)

Case forms of participles (186) represent an extremely important means of forming subordinate clauses in Tyvan; these are discussed more thoroughly in **3.3.2.2** below.

(186) *čedip kelgenimde seeŋ irlaariŋge*
come-CV CLOC-PAST.I-1-LOC you-gen sing-P/F-2-DAT
'when I came' 'At/for your singing'

ii. *(men) kelgen-(im)-de ažıldaar men*
1 come-1-LOC work-P/F 1
When I come, I work.

iii. *(men) xoradaan-(im)-da caŋım baɣay (dır)*
1 be.angry-1-LOC character-1 bad ASSRTV
When I am angry, my character is bad.

iv. *(men) čemnengen-(im)-de xavan-na men*
1 eat-1-LOC pig-EQU 1
When I eat, I'm like a pig.

In the examples above, person may be marked by (*men*) preceding the verb and (*ım*) suffixed to the verb stem. If (*ım*) is present, the presence of (*men*) becomes optional. Note that the sense of the sentence is <u>not</u> past tense, however the verb in the subordinate clause must appear in the PAST participle form.

Participles are also frequently used with a range of postpositions, forming both causally and temporally subordinate clauses.

(187) *bodu kelir užun bižik ıtpadı*
self-3 come-P/F for letter send-NEG-PAST.II
'because he intended to come himself, he didn't send a letter' (Sh 1993: 72)

ii. *men korga bergen bolgaš börünü ölürüp šıdavaan men*
I fear-CV AUX-PAST because wolf-ACC kill-CV be.able-NEG-PAST.I 1
'I couldn't kill the wolf because I was scared' (BK 1987b: 37)

Auxiliary nouns often appear with participles in Tyvan as well. Note that in these formations, the person/number of the subject of the subordinate clause headed by the auxiliary noun is generally realized on the auxiliary noun itself, rather than the participle.

(188) *ol bažıŋ(nı) tıvalgan soonda, ol aažok ören*
that house-ACC find-CV-SBEN-PAST after s/he very happy
'after finding that house, she was very happy'

ii. *sook bolgan užurunda, kidis idik kedip aldım*
cold be-PAST because-3-LOC felt shoe wear-CV SBEN-PAST.II-1
'because it was cold, I put on felt boots'(B 244)

iii. *men oray kelgen užurumda, avam čedir uduvaan*
I late come-PAST because-1-LOC mother-1 up.to sleep-NEG-PAST.I
'because I arrived so late, my mother couldn't fall asleep (until then)'(Ch 1984: 170)

Infrequently, the subject may be indexed both on the participle and the auxiliary noun

(189) *kelerim murnumda*

come-P/F-1 before-1-LOC
'before I came' (UL 1986: 71)

In other instances, the participle is marked non-third person, but the auxiliary noun third person.

(190) *aŋnaaškɨn dugayɨnda čugaalažɨrɨvɨstɨŋ murnunda, bis ür-le*
hunting about converse-P/F-1PL-GEN before-3-LOC we long.time'=EMPH

šaylap olurduvus
drink.tea-CV AUX-PAST.II-1PL
'before talking about hunting, we drank tea for a long time' (UL 1986: 86)

Note that a non-third person subject generally is indexed morphologically.

(191) *školanɨ dooskalaam silerge bildingir*
school-ACC finish-UNACCOM-1 you-DAT known
'you know that I'm to finish school in the near future' (M 1959: 90)

3.3.2.1.2 Converb Subordination

Converb forms constitute another important means of forming subordinate clauses in Tyvan. For most of the formations traditionally considered converbs in Tyvan, this clausal subordination is their primary or only function in the language.

(192) *kižɨ kelgeš, men anaar bar albadɨm*
person come-CV I to.there go SBEN-NEG-PAST.II-1
'because people came, I didn't go there' (UL 1986: 152, 152, 156, 152)

ii. *xem uglatkaš, parom čorbastaan*
river flood-CV ferry go-CES-PAST.I
'the ferry is not running because the river flooded'

iii. *ööredilgem dooskužemče, maŋaa čurttaar men*
study-1 finish-LIM-1-LIM here live-P/F 1
'I'll live here until I finish my studies'

iv. *ačam zavodka ažɨldaala čeerbe čɨl aškan*
father-1 factory-DAT work-CV 20 year pass-PAST.I
'it's been 20 years since my father worked at the factory'

As in a number of other Turkic languages, the /-(I)p/ converb form of *deer, dep*, has developed into the role of complementizer in Tyvan with certain main verbs of thinking, saying, naming, etc. (Mongush 1987, Sat 1981, Oyun 1983).[33] A similar function is seen in Xakas (where the cognate form is *tɨp*), as well as in numerous other

[33] Or a noun too:
inčangaš Toš dep sösten Tožu dep at üngen ol-dur
thus T. COMP word-ABL T. COMP be.derived-PAST 3+ASSRTV
'thus, *Tožu* was derived from the word *toš*' (Kunaa 1970: 54)

Turkic languages. *dep* is found following the clause it is a sister to, and generally appears immediately before the verb (or noun) that licenses it.

(193) *ol kelgen dep dɨŋnadɨm*
he come-PAST.I COMP hear-PAST.II-1
'I heard that he came'

ii. *olar kelir dep dɨŋnadɨm*
they come-P/F COMP hear-PAST.II-1
'I heard that they are coming'

iii. *čàstɨɣ dep bodadɨm*
rain-ADJ COMP think-PAST.II-1
'I thought it was rainy'

iv. *tonum čaraš dep bolur*
clothing-1 beautiful COMP be-P/F
'My outfit will be beautiful'

v. *tɨvada aɣaar-boydus iziɣ (dir) dep bildim*
Tuva-LOC air-'nature hot EMPH COMP know-PAST.II-1
'I found out that the weather is hot in Tuva'

vi. *ol kɨžini čaraš dep sanaar men*
that person-ACC beautiful COMP count-P/F I
I consider that person beautiful.

vii. *meeŋ kelgenimge ačam amɨraar, aažok öörüür boor dep bodaan men*
I-GEN come-PAST-1-DAT father-1 be.pleased-P/F very be.happy-P/F PROB COMP think-PAST.I 1
'I thought that my father would be very happy that I came' (Ch 1984: 11)

The complementizer phrase may be post-posed for focus

(194) *dɨŋnadɨm olar kelir dep*
they-PL come-P/F COMP hear-PAST.II-1
'They are coming, I heard'

Note that various lexical verbs can be used with more than one subordination type, for example, with either *dep* or a participle marked for case and person:

(195) *ol meeŋ čagaamnɨ algan dep idegep olur men*
3 I-GEN letter-1-ACC take-PAST.I COMP hope-CV AUX 1
'I hope he got my letter' (Ch 1984: 89, 97)

ii. *nomnarnɨ ekkep kaar bolganɨŋga idegep tur men*
book-PL-ACC bring-CV AUX-P/F AUX-PAST-2-DAT hope-CV AUX 1
'I hope you'll bring the books'

Another converb form of *deer, deeš*, has been grammaticalized in Tyvan as a marker of causal subordination. This also appears in the position immediately following the

clause it is sister to. Note that the verb in the clause preceding *deeš* may be in the IMP form, or less frequently the CON. With nominal complements, it functions as a postposition.

(196) *uyguzun xandɨr udup alzɨnnar deeš, kadarɨp olur men*
sleep-3.ACC deeply sleep-CV SBEN-3.IMP-PL PURP guard-CV AUX 1
'I am guarding them, so that they can get some sleep' (Sh 1993: 72)

ii. *men olarga šaptɨk katpas deeš bažɨŋče kirip keldim*
I they-DAT obstacle add-NEG.P/F PURP house-ALL enter-CV CLOC-PAST.II-1
'I came inside so as not to disturb them'

This use of *deeš* is related to the use of the verb stem *de-* as a marker of intentional mood (INT). The verb preceding the INT may appear in a range of forms, e.g. the IMP, the CON plus the interrogative particle *be*, or the P/F.

(197) *ačay, bis inek saalɨ deeš*
father-VOC we cow milk-1DL.IMP INT-CV
'papa, we're going to (i.e. intending to) milk the cow' (M 1987: 83, 86, 88)

ii. *onu berze be deeš --deeš, ünüp čɨdɨr*
3.ACC give-CON Q COMP say-CV go.out-CV AUX-P/F
'"(I) wanted to give it" she said, preparing to leave'

iii. *daarta olgum kɨs edertip ekkeer dep turar*
tomorrow son-1 girl take.w/self-CV bring-P/F INT-CV AUX-P/F
'tomorrow my son intends to bring his bride'

iv. *seŋee murnunda-la čugaalaar deen men*
you-DAT before-3-LOC=EMPH say-P/F INT-PAST.I 1
'I meant to tell you beforehand'

Aside from the participial and converb formations, and the complementizer-constructions mentioned above, other types of subordinate clause formations are found in Tyvan. These include the use of the conditional mood affix (198), and the related concessive construction (199).

(198) *kažan kino baar aparzɨŋarza meni edertip alɨr siler*
when movies go'P/F AUX-CON-2PL-CON I-ACCt ake.w/self-CV AUX-P/F 2PL
'if/when you go to the movies, take me along' (UJ 1986: 158)

(199) *budum aarɨp turza=daa azɨlɨmče čoruptur men*
foot-1 be.ill-CV AUX-CNS work-1-ALL go-PERF-EVID.PAST 1
'even though my feet hurt, I (still) go to work' (UJ 1986: 158)

ii. *ög ištinde ulus šɨgɨrt dolu=daa bolza, kezek kada šɨpšɨŋ turgan*
yurt in-3-LOC people completely full=EMPH be-CON for.a.while quiet AUX-PAST.I
'although the yurt was full of people, there was quiet for a while' (Sh 1993: 73)

Tyvan also possesses a special form, known in the Tyvan linguistic literature (e.g. IP 1961) as the 'limited' mood (LIM), which can be used to create several different kinds of subordinate clauses. Like the conditional, this form has internal person/number inflection

and an apparent partial double marking of the modal category in the first and second person singular and plural. This may have resulted from the fusing of the uncommon Uighur-oid participle in /-KI/ (also seen in the *-KI deg* formation discussed in **2.2.1.2.8**) with the ALL case. Why/how the double marking of the ALL came to be used with non-third persons is unknown. The -KIže form has three functions in Tyvan. The first two mark temporally subordinate clauses corresponding to English 'until' and 'while'. The third type of clause marked by this affix correspond to clauses introduced by 'rather than' in English.

(200) i. *imir düšküže, kàtka elik kedep olurdum*
dusk fall-LIM bare.sunny.mountainside-DAT female.roe.deer lie.in.wait-CV AUX-PAST.II-1
'I lay in wait for the roe-deer on the sunny face of a mountain until dusk set in'

ii. *ööredilgem dooskužemče, maŋaa čurttaar men*
study-1 finish-LIM-1-LIM here live-P/F 1
'I'll live here until I finish my studies' (UL 1986: 155-6)

iii. *men bo šöldü keskižemče sen suglap ekel*
I this meadow-ACC cut-LIM-1-LIM you fetch.water-CV bring
'while I cut this meadow, you go and fetch some water' (UL 1986: 156)

iv. *karangɨga olurguže laadan kɨpsap alɨlɨ*
dark-DAT sit-LIM candle-ABL light-CV SBEN-1DL.IMP
'let's (us-2) light a candle, rather than sit in the dark!' (UL 1986: 152)

3.3.2.2 Case Marked Subordinate Clauses

One of the most common and characteristic ways of forming subordinate clauses in Tyvan is through the use of case-marked forms of participles. As in many Turkic languages, ABL, ACC, DAT, GEN, LOC, and the unmarked/basic case form all play a role in some manner in the subordinate clause system; subordinate clauses in the INS and, historically, in the ALL are found as well. As mentioned above, in subordinate clauses with participial predicates, including those subtypes marked by various case forms, the person and number of the subject are indexed by Class-I or possessive markers.

Unpossessed forms of participles functioning as subordinate clause predicates may be used with auxiliary nouns.

(201) *ol bazɨŋ(nɨ) tɨvalgan soonda, ol aažok ören*
that house-ACC find-CV-SBEN-PAST after-3-LOC s/he very happy
'after finding that house, she was very happy'

Nominative possessed forms of participles may also be used with auxiliary nouns in Tyvan. As mentioned above, the participle may be marked non-third person while the auxiliary noun is marked third person.

(202) *seeŋ dülgüürler čɨdɨrɨp alganɨŋ užurundan, men bažɨŋče iyi šak ištinde*
you-GEN key-PL lose-CV AUX-PAST-2 because-3-ABL I house-ALL 2 hour in-3-LOC

kirip šɨdavayn tur men
enter-CV be.able-NEG.CV AUX 1
'because you lost the keys, I couldn't get in the house for two hours'
(Ch 1984: 170)

ii. *sen čoruuruŋ murnunda, men seeŋ=bile čugaalažɨksap tur men*

you go-P/F-2 before-3-LOC I you-GEN=INS converse-DES-CV AUX 1
'I'd like to talk to you before you go' (UL 1986: 86)

A sentential subject in Tyvan is generally marked by a possessed participle in the basic/nominative form. The possessive suffixes index the person/number of the subject within the sentential subject.

(203) *ooŋ ɨndɨg dürgen čoruy bargaɨ bisti eldepsindirgen*
3.GEN so fast go-CV AUX-PAST-3 we-ACC surprise-PAST.I
'that he left so quickly surprised us' (UL 1986: 75)

ɨt čemgereri --seeŋ xereeŋ
dog feed-P/F-3 you-GEN duty-2
'it's your duty to feed the dog' (Ch 1984: 110)

Nominative possessed forms of participles also may serve as the object of various postpositions (204). They may also be used in an emphatic construction with discourse particle *ol* (205).

(204) *bis bügü čüveni seeŋ čugaalaanɨŋ yozugar kɨlgan bis*
we all thing-ACC you-GEN say-PAST-2 according.to do-PAST.I 1PL
'we did everything just as you said' (UL 1986: 82)

(205) *(men) ol kino körgenim ol* *olar ol kino körgeni ol be*
I that film see-PAST.I-1 DISC they that film see-PAST.I-1 DISC Q
'I really *did* see that film' 'Did they really see that film?'

On occasion, a non-possessed participle form may be used as a complement clause predicate, instead of the (possessive) accusative.

(206) *men bilbes men kaynaar baar men*
I know-NEG.P/F 1 to.where go-P/F 1
'I don't know where to go'

Subordinate clauses with participial predicates in the ABL case perform several different functions in Tyvan. The first subtype of ABL-clause is causal. This can be used both with verbal (participial) predicates and nominal predicates of various types.

(207) *nomčuvastaanɨm užurundan šɨlgeldeni bayay dužaadɨm.*
read-CES-PAST.I-1 reason-ABL exam-NOM badly meet-PAST.II-1
'Because I stopped reading, I did badly on the exam'

ii. *salgɨn kelgeninden bürüler šɨlɨrtkaynɨ bergen*
wind come-PAST-3-ABL leaf-PL rustle-CV INCH-PAST.I
'because a light wind blew, the leaves began to rustle' (Sat 1966: 400)

iii. *balɨktɨŋ ulug bolganɨndan men uštup bezin čadar kaan men*
fish-GEN big be-PAST-3-ABL I pull.out-CV even AUX-PAST.I 1
'because the fish was so big, I could not even pull it out'

A second subtype of ABL-clause has a temporally subordinate meaning. This marks an action that took place at a time previous to the main verb action, and that previous event

is somehow relevant to the main verb. These are rendered in English translation as 'since' or 'after'-clauses.

(208) *Ivannɨ šerigže apparganɨndan, kɨm=daa oon čagaa albaan*
I.-ACC army-ALL bring-PAST.I-3-ABL who=EMPH 3-ABL letter take-NEG-PAST.I
'since Ivan was taken into the army, noone has received a letter from him'
(UL 1986: 80)

ii. *ol bažɨŋnɨ tɨvalgaštan dɨka öörüškü bolgan*
that house-ACC find.CV-SBEN-CV-ABL very happy be-PAST.I
'after finding the house, she was very happy'

Most commonly, ABL-marked subordinate clauses are governed by various postpositions. These create clauses of a wide range of types, encompassing not only the two functions adduced above, but several others as well.

(209) *čay egeleenden beer, oglum bažɨŋga šuut olurbastaan*
summer begin-PAST-ABL since son-1 house-DAT directly sit-CES-PAST.I
'since summer began, my son hasn't been at home at all' (UL 1986: 80-1)

ii. *seni bažɨŋda čok deerinden öske aŋaa čünü=daa čugaalavadɨm*
you-ACC home-LOC no say-P/F-3-ABL except 3.DAT what-ACC=EMPH say-NEG-PAST.II-1
'I didn't tell her anything except that you weren't home'

iii. *siler meeŋ čugaalap turganɨmdan aŋgɨ kɨlganɨŋarda, ayɨɨl boldu*
y'all I-GEN say-CV AUX-PAST-1-ABL instead.of do-PAST-2PL-LOC calamity be-PAST.II
'there was calamity because you didn't do as I said' (Sh 1993: 66)

Like the DAT and ACC, an ABL-case marked complement clause can be subcategorized for by various predicates in Tyvan. Note that only a small number of predicates may subcategorize for a complement clause in the ABL case in Tyvan.

(210) *orus čonnarɨnɨŋ bažɨŋnarɨnče čookšulay kɨlaštaarɨndan korgar bolgaš*
Russian people-PL-3-GEN house-PL-3-ALL approach-CV go-P/F-3-ABL fear-P/F and

čügle ɨraktan baraan xaraar turgan men
only from.afar observe-P/F AUX-PAST.I 1
'I was scared to approach the Russians' homes, I only observed from afar'
(Ch 1984: 88)

Another possible cause for an ABL-marked participial clause is to mark a complement clause serving as the *comparandum* of a comparative form of an adverb.

(211) *bistɨŋ manap turganɨvistan ol erte kelgen*
we-GEN wait-CV AUX-PAST-1PL-ABL 3 early come-PAST.I
'he came before we were waiting' (Ch 1984: 104)

ii. *bögünge čedir ažɨldaanɨvistan=daa eki ažɨldaarɨvistɨ margɨldaškanɨvɨs*
today-DAT until work-PAST-1PL-ABL=EMPH good work-P/F-1PL-ACC argue-PAST-1PL

xeree čok boor
necessity-3 no(t) be-P/F

'it's impossible to argue with (the fact that) we can work better than we have worked up until now'

A number of common predicates in Tyvan may take a sentential complement in the ACC case. Overt subject-NP of the complement clause is almost always in the GEN case.

(212) *čugaaların bilir men*
speak-P/F-ACC know-P/F 1
'I know how to speak'

ii. *dayınnıŋ čüge egeleenin bilbes men*
war-GEN why begin-PAST-3.ACC know-NEG.P/F 1
'I don't know why the war started' (Ch 1984: 62)

iii. *seeŋ šaandakkı ırlarnı ırlaarıŋnı men dıŋnavaan men*
you-GEN old-style-DC song-PL-ACC sing-P/F-2-ACC I hear-NEG-PAST.I 1
'I still haven't heard you sing old-style songs' (Ch 1984: 73)

iv. *čaynıŋ ertkenin eskerbedim*
summer-GEN pass-PAST-3.ACC notice-NEG-PAST.II-1
'I didn't notice (as) the summer pass(ed)' (Ch 1984: 74)

Like the ACC, a number of common verbal predicates may take sentential (participial) complement clauses in the DAT case (213). Also, certain nominal predicates may similarly be used with sentential complements in the DAT case (214).

(213) *ooŋ dirig üneringe büzüreer men*
3.GEN alive remain-P/F-3-DAT believe-P/F 1
'I believe he's still alive' (UL 1986: 78)

ii. *meeŋ kelgenimge ačam amıraar, aažok öörüür boor dep bodaan men*
I-GEN come-PAST.I-1-DAT father-1 be.pleased-P/F very be.happy-P/F PROB COMP think-PAST.I 1
'I thought that my father would be very happy that I came' (Ch 1984: 11, 81)

iii. *bistiŋ bodaldarıvıstı dıŋnavaaninga xomudaar-dır bis*
we-GEN thought-PL-1PL-ACC listen-NEG-PAST-3-DAT be.unhappy-P/F-ASSRTV 1PL
'we'll be offended at your not listening to our ideas'

(214) *ulug xünde aŋnap čoruurunga kim=daa ùdur eves bolgan*
Sunday-LOC hunt-CV AUX-P/F-3-DAT who=EMPH against not be-PAST.I
'noone was against hunting on Sunday' (Ch 1984: 87)

The DAT case of a participial predicate may also mark a sub-type of temporally subordinate clause. Curiously, with the P/F participle in this form, an action preceding the main verb is marked (i.e. a past tense meaning). This past tense meaning with the /-Vr/ participle is also seen in Altai as well, though with the LOC case.

(215) *xün ünüp keerge, čer čırık keer*
sun go.out-CV CLOC-P/F-DAT land light-CV! CLOC-P/F
'when the sun came up, the land grew light'

ii. *urugga nomnu tutsup beerimge*

child-DAT book-ACC give.out-CV BEN-P/F-1-DAT
'when I gave the girl the book..' (L 1989:67)

iii. *tura-xalaaš köörümge badıp olurarga*
jump.up-CV look-P/F-1-DAT lower-CV AUX-P/F-DAT
'when, having jumped up, I looked' 'when it lowered/went down'
(B 1960:138)

(216) Altai-kiži
enesi kol=lo bererde, uulı kolın d'apasıp kat(t)ap
mother-3 hand=EMPH give-P/F-LOC son-3 hand-3.ACC squeeze-CV again

suradı "adam kayda?"
ask-PAST.II father-1 where
'when the mother offered her hand, the son squeezed her hand and again asked "where is my father?"' (Baskakov 1958: 77)

The DAT of a participle can have a conditional sense.

(217) *a šak ınčaldır kızıp kakpaska, xırnıŋ kažan=daa totpas bolgay*
well so thus try-CV AUX-NEG.P/F-DAT stomach-2 when-=EMPH fill-NEG.P/F AUX-CNCL
'well if you go on like that without trying, your stomach will indeed never be full' (Sh 1993: 65)

Finally, a DAT marked participial clause may be governed by a postposition.

(218) *aalčılar čıglıp keliringe čedir am=daa soluy kettinip čettigipter men*
guest-PL gather-CV AUX-P/F-3-DAT until now=EMPH change-CV get.dressed-CV succeed-PERF-P/F 1
'before the guests gather, I will manage to change my clothes' (UL 1986: 82)

The GEN case of a participial clause in Tyvan generally results from the use of an auxiliary noun. Like the ACC, these are always in the possessive form.

(219) *ooŋ amırap turarınıŋ užuru baza-la bildingir*
3.GEN be.happy-CV AUX-P/F-3-GEN reason-3 also-EMPH be.known
'the reason he's happy is also known' (UL 1986: 75)

ii. *mašına čok bolganınıŋ xaraazında*
car no(t) be-PAST-3-GEN because-3-LOC
'because there was no car' (Sh 1993: 69)

Note that it is possible for the participle to be marked non-third person but the auxiliary noun third person, both in instances when the GEN case is used and not.

(220) *aŋnaškın dugayında čugaalažırıvıstıŋ murnunda, bis ür-le*
hunting about converse-P/F-1PL-GEN before-3-LOC we long.time=EMPH

šaylap olurduvus
drink.tea-CV AUX-PAST.II-1PL
'before talking about hunting, we drank tea for a long time' (UL 1986: 86)

ii. *sen čoruuruŋ murnunda, men seeŋ=bile čugaalažıksap tur men*

you go-P/F-2 before-3-LOC I you-GEN=INS converse-DES-CV AUX 1
'I'd like to talk to you before you go'

As mentioned above, both simultaneous action and preceding action functions of the converb /-GAš/ can be optionally inflected in the GEN case, but unlike the GEN forms of the participles, there is no structural motivation for the use of the GEN.

(221) *düün ol kiži kettine algaštiŋ čemnene algaštiŋ čuuna algaštiŋ*
yesterday that person dress-CV SBEN-CV-GEN eat-CV SBEN-CV-GEN wash-CV SBEN-CV-GEN
školaga čorupkan..ili školaže
school-DAT go-PERF-PAST.I or school-ALL
'yesterday, he got dressed, ate, washed up and went to school'

ii. *seni taya beer dep kortkaštiŋ men seni xoluŋdan segirip aldım*
you-ACC slip-CV AUX-P/F COMP fear-CV-GEN I you-ACC hand-2-ABL grab-CV AUX-PAST.II-1
'fearing that you would slip, I grabbed you by the hand' (UL 1986: 152)

iii. *seeŋ čorup olurarıŋnı körgeštiŋ men üne berdim*
you leave-CV AUX-P/F-2-ACC see-CV-GEN I go.out-CV INCH-PAST.II-1
'seeing that you are leaving, I went out'

A LOC case form of a participle probably represents the most common means of forming temporally subordinate clauses in Tyvan. This marks both actions in the past and in the future, though in both cases preceding the action of the main clause. LOC participle forms of the PAST and P/F participle may optionally mark the person/number of the subject within the verb form (223) or not (222).

(222) *kiš tonup čorda* *čer čirip kelgende*
winter end-CV AUX-LOC land brighten-CV AUX-PAST.I-LOC
'when winter ends' 'when the land became light'
(B 1960: 138)

ii. *xar eriveende, bis ližalıg aŋnap turgan bis*
snow melt-NEG-PAST.I-LOC we ski-ADJ hunt-CV AUX-PAST.I 1PL
'when the snow hadn't yet melted, we would go hunting on skis' (UL 1986: 78)

iii. *iyi xonganda, Badıy akımdan aytırdım*
two spend.night-PAST.I-LOC B. older.brother-ABL ask-PAST.II-1
'when two days had passed, I asked my brother Badıy' (Ch 1984: 144)

(223) *bažıŋ-ya četkelek čorumda čàs čap keldi*
house-DAT reach-UNACMPL AUX-1-LOC rain precipitate-CV AUX-PAST.II
'I didn't get home (before) the rain started' (E 1984: 69)

ii. *men am=daa törüttümeenimde*
I now=EMPH born-NEG-PAST-1-LOC
'when I was not even born yet' (B 204)

iii. *bis uduy bergeniviste, bire-le kiži xemevisti appargan*
we sleep-CV AUX-PAST-1PL-LOC one-EMPH person boat-1PL-ACC take.away-PAST.I
'when we awoke someone had taken off our boat' (Sh 1993: 65-6)

iv. *sen klubče barbaanıŋda, men baza baziŋga olurayn*
you club-ALL go-NEG-PAST-2-LOC I also house-DAT sit-1.FUT.II
'if you're not going to the club, I'm going to stay home too'

v. *siler meeŋ čugaalap turganımdan aŋgı kılganıŋarda, ayıl boldu*
y'all I-GEN say-CV AUX-PAST-1-ABL instead.of do-PAST-2PL-LOC calamity be-PAST.II
'there was calamity because you didn't do as I said'

vi. *men baštay čollačılap turumda, Tıvaga čazalıg oruk čok turgan*
I at.first chauffer-CV AUX-1-LOC Tyva-DAT paved road no AUX-PAST.I
'when I first started chauffering, there were no paved roads in Tyva'
(Ch 1984: 11)

The unaccomplished participle in -GAlAk stands out among the participles used in subordinate clause formation in Tyvan in that it may only be used in the LOC case.

(224) *ay üngelekte bis artka čookšulap kelgen bis*
moon come.out-UNACMPL we mountain.pass-DAT approach-CV CLOC-PAST.I 1PL
'we approached the mountain pass when the moon was about to come out'
(Ch 1984: 149)

ii. *Sat čugaazın töndürgelekte, Kozulina üze kiripken*
S conversation-3-ACC finish-UNACMPL-LOC K cut-CV AUX-PERF-PAST.I
'when Sat hadn't yet finished speaking, Kozulina cut him off' (UL 1986: 77)

Note that forms with a NEG and the UNACMPL are found in these types of subordinate clauses in the speech of certain Tyvans. These likely reflect interference from corresponding Russian formations with the negative particle *nye* (e.g. *poka nye...*). Generally speaking, the languages with the UNACMPL affix (Xakas, Shor, Altai) do not permit this to have an overt marker of negation.

(225) *ay ünmeelekte...*
moon come.out-NEG-UNACMPL-LOC
'when the moon hadn't yet risen' (Ch 1984: 149) = Teeli & Kara-Xöl dialects

ii. *sigen kezildezi egeleveelekte...*
hay cutting-3 begin-UNACMPL-LOC
'before the hay-harvest began'

The INS clitic used with the nominative possessed form of participles often carries a causally subordinate sense.

(226) *agaar čok bolgani=bile, maŋaa xonar bolgan-dir bis*
air no be-PAST-3=INS here pass.night-P/F AUX-PAST.I-ASSRTV 1PL
'because there was bad weather, we had to stay the night here' (Sh 1993: 68)

ii. *ooldug bolganiŋ=bile bayır čedirip tur men*
son-ADJ be-PAST-2=INS congratulate-CV AUX 1
'I congratulate you on having a son' (UL 1986: 83)

It may also correspond to 'in order to' in certain instances.

(227) *biske* *duzalaari=bile kelgenner*
we-DAT help-P/F-3=INS come-PAST.I-PL
'they came to help us' (IP 1961: 438)

The INS clitic *=bile* sometimes appears attached to a subordinate participial predicate in the (third person) possessive accusative form.

(228) *avazı* *uruunuŋ* *ottup* *kelgenin=bile* *tirtip* *kaan*
mother-3 daughter-3-GEN wake.up-CV AUX-PAST-3.ACC-INS pull-CV AUX-PAST.I
'her$_i$ mother$_j$ learned that her$_j$ daughter$_i$ woke up' (Kunaa 1970: 39)

As mentioned above, it is quite likely that the ALL case form of a participle historically underlies the so-called 'limited' mood in /-KIže/ (IP 1961) in Tyvan (229). Probable cognate forms are found throughout the Turkic language family, though most based on the /-GAn/ participle, e.g. Xakas where it appears with the prosecutive-equatative (P/E) case (230), and thus it is at least possible that this may have originally been from /-GAn/ in pre-Tyvan.

(229) *doktaagižemče* *doktaagiže*
stop-LIM-1-LIM stop-LIM
'until I stop' 'until she stops' (Sat 1966: 397)

(230) Xakas

ınekterıŋ min dee saam aylanγaniŋža
cow-PL-2 I EMPH milk-PAST.I-1 return-PAST-2-P/E
'I milked your cows until you returned' (Anderson 1998: 79)

ii. *ibge* *čitkenıbısče,* *uluγ* *čil* *pol* *kilgen*
house-DAT reach-PAST-1PL-P/E big wind become CLOC-PAST.I
'while we were reaching the house a great wind whipped up'

In Kyzyl Tyvan, temporally subordinate clauses of the 'when'-type frequently are introduced by the interrogative pronoun *kažan* 'when'; these are calqued on Russian subordinate clause models with '*kogda*..'. The predicate in these clauses may either be a DAT or LOC marked participial form, a -GAš converb or an actual finite verb form. This reflects the degree of influence from Russian present in the speech of individual speakers.

(231) *kažan avazı* *eeŋ* *bažiŋda* *biče-oolčak* *körüptü*
when mother-3 empty house-LOC small.boy see-PERF-PAST.II
'when his mother saw a little boy in the empty house..'

ii. *kažan xün ünüp beerge,* *čer* *čirik beer* (< -p k-)
when sun rise-CV AUX-P/F-DAT land light-CV CLOC-P/F
'when the sun comes up, the land becomes light'

iii. *kažan xün körergen,* *čer čirik beer* (< -p k-)
when sun be.seen-PAST.I land light-CV CLOC-P/F
'when the sun came out, the earth grew light'

iv. *kažan olar čedip keerge* (or, with metathesis, *čedik peerge*)
when they reach-CV CLOC-P/F-DAT

'when they came'

v. *kažan ol bažiŋnı tivalgaš*
when that house-ACC find-(CV)-SBEN-CV
'when he found that house'

vi. *kažan men ol kižini körüp kaaš*
when I s/he-ACC see-CV AUX-CV
'when I saw her'

3.3.3 Switch-Reference

Bergel'son and Kibrik (1987a, 1987b) suggest that another function of the converb /-GAš/ is as a same subject marker in a switch-reference system. It stands in opposition to the different subject marker, primarily -VrgA, but other Participle + Case combinations as well (/-VrdA/, /-GAndA/, etc.) (233). /-GAš/ is used when both clauses have the same unmarked subject (232).

(232) *öörenikči* *čorukče* *körgeš* *xarılaan*
student drawing-ALL look-CV answer-PAST.I
'the student looked at the drawing and answered'

ii. *nomnu nomčaaš, ol kižiniŋ čurttalgazın šuptuzun bilip aldım*
book-ACC read-CV s/he-GEN life-3.ACC all-3.ACC know-CV SBEN-PAST.II-1
'having read this book, I learned everything about his life'

iii. *bir-le čılın Kara-Xölge iyi kuu užup kelgeš čaylaannar*
one=EMPH year-ADV K.-X.-DAT two swan fly-CV CLOC-CV pass.summer-PAST.I-PL
'one year 2 swans came to K-X and passed the summer (there)' (Ch 1984: 56)

(233) *kože* *aalga* *baarımga,* *kiži* *čok* *boorga,*
next village-DAT go-P/F-1-DAT person NEG.COP AUX-P/F-DAT

uduvayn=daa *čanıpkan men*
sleep-NEG-CV=EMPH return-PERF-PAST.I 1
'I went to the next village and since noone was there, I returned home without spending the night' (BK 1987b: 33-4)

ii. *xün* *üngende,* *čer* *čıraan*
sun come.out-PAST-LOC land grow.light-PAST.I
'the sun came out and the land grew light'

iii. *xün* *ünüp* *keerge,* *čer* *čirik keer*
sun go.out-CV CLOC-P/F-DAT land light-CV! CLOC-P/F
'when the sun came up, the land grew light'

If one clause has DAT marked logical subject, /-GAš/ is not permitted (234), while with GEN-marked forms, /-GAš/ may optionally be used (235).

(234) *Kara-ool uduy beerge (*bergeš) aŋaa sook bolur*
K. sleep-CV AUX-DS (*AUX-SS) 3.DAT cold be-P/F
'when Kara-ool falls asleep, he'll be cold' (BK 1987a: 22-3)

vs. *Kara-oolga sook boorga (*bolgaš) ol ɨglay beer*
K.-DAT cold be-DS (*be-SS) s/he cry-CV INCH-P/F
'when Kara-ool is cold, he starts to cry'

(235) *oolduŋ xörŋü baksɨray beerge/baksɨraaš, čanɨp keldi*
boy-GEN mood get.bad-CV AUX-DS/get.bad-SS return-CV CLOC-PAST.II
'the boy got sick and came home' (BK 1987a: 24)

With quantifiers, when there is only partial overlap in the reference of the subjects of the two clauses, the different subject forms are used, but with full overlap, the same subject affix is used (236).

(236) *ɨraažɨlar ɨrlaarɨn soksaarga (*soksaaš) olarnɨŋ čamdɨktarɨ čoruy bargan*
singer-PL sing-P/F-3.ACC finish-DS (*finish-SS) they-GEN several-PL-3 go-CV TLOC-PAST.I
'when the singers finished singing, several of them left' (BK 1987a: 26)

ii. *šuptu aalčɨlar čedip kelgeš (*keerge) kiži bürüzü belek ekkelgen*
all guest-PL reach-CV CLOC-SS (*CLOC-DS) person every-3 gift bring-PAST.I
'all the guests came and every one brought a gift' (BK 1987a: 27)

In subordinate clauses with *deeš* 'in order to' when the two subjects are the same, *-Vr deeš* is used, but when they are different, *-Zin deeš* is found instead (237).

(237) *doŋmazɨn deeš xörtükke iyilee čungulaar bis*
freeze-NEG-3.IMP in.order.to snow.drift-DAT two-DIST ski-P/F 1PL
'in order not freeze, the two of us will ski together to the snow-drift'
(Letyagina 1989: 64)

ii. *avazɨ dɨštanzɨn deeš, uruu münnü xayɨndɨrɨp kaan*
mother-3 rest-3.IMP in.order.to daughter-3 soup-ACC boil-CV AUX-PAST.I
'so that mother$_j$ could rest her$_j$ daughter$_i$ boiled the soup' (BK 1987b: 39)

vs. *avamga užuražɨr deeš, men xooray čoruptum*
mother-1-DAT meet-REC-P/F in.order.to I town go-PERF-PAST.II-1
'I went to town to meet my mother'

iii. *men olarga šaptɨk katpas deeš bažɨŋče kirip keldim*
I they-DAT obstacle add-NEG.P/F say-CV house-ALL enter-CV CLOC-PAST.II-1
'I came inside so as not to disturb them' (Sh 1993: 72)

Switch-reference in Tyvan has not yet been fully grammaticalized, i.e. the requirement for /-GAš/ to have same subjects is not a rigid one for all speakers: cf. sentences such as the one in (238). For these speakers, generally only /-GAš/ is used.

(238) *čas düžerge/düškeš čečekter častɨp kelgen*
spring fall-DS/fall-SS flower-PL blossom.out-CV CLOC-PAST.I
'spring set in and the flowers blossomed' (BK 1987a: 28)

3.4. Clitics, Particles, Discourse Markers, Question Tags

Tyvan employs a number of (semi-)bound elements which lack the morpho-phonological properties of affixes. There are at least three formal types of such elements. Some exhibit partially assimilatory behavior (both consonantal and vowel harmony, others only consonantal), while others lack any such modificational interaction with the immediately preceding (host) syllable coda. Examples of the first category (pseudo-affixes) include the emphatic /+LA/ (and possibly, at least historically the ABL case marker), while the second-class of 'partially assimilatory' clitics include the ALL case marker +že/č and the emphatic *=daa*. The INS case marker *=bile* is an example of the third type or 'non-assimilating' clitic. In all instances the clitics lack stress.

Emphatic /-LA/ attaches freely to nouns and modifiers: *berge-le* 'very difficult', *semis-le* fat-EMPH, On verbs, it may add a durative meaning.

(239) *xam-na (dir)* *ažɨldap-la turyan men*
shaman-EMPH-EVID work-EMPH AUX-PAST.I 1
'It's a shaman!' 'I worked continuously'

ii. *sep-semis-le*
REDUP-fat-EMPH
'really very fat'

A homonymous clitic is the Equative marker /-LA/: *idik-le* 'boot-like' *xam-na* 'shaman-like' *semis-le* 'fat-like'. These two clitics can often be disambiguated only in a given context. However, the equative marker shows second-position placement on reduplicated forms:

(240) *sep-le-semis* *sep-le-semis-le*
REDUP-EQU-fat REDUP-EQU-fat-EMPH
'very fat-like' 'really very fat-like'

Emphatic *=daa* may encliticize to virtually any word and serves as a focus marker in sentences. It also serves to mark negative polarity, giving the meaning 'all' or 'none' depending on the presence or absence of verbal negation elsewhere in the sentence.

(241) *avam bažɨŋda=daa čok*
mother-1 house-LOC=EMPH not
'my mother isn't home'

ii. *tɨvalar=daa orustar=daa, šuptu bir dömey kɨžɨler*
Tyvan-PL=EMPH Russian-PL=EMPH all one similar person-PL
'Tyvans and Russians--they're all the same kind of people' (Letyagina 1989: 63-4)

iii. *bir eves aytɨrɨg bar bolza, meŋee düne=daa bolza keep turuŋar*
if question COP AUX-CON I-DAT at.night'=EMPH AUX-CON come-CV AUX-IMP.PL
'if there are questions, (you may) come to me even at night' (Sh 1993: 67)

iv. *men anɨyak=taa bolzumza ol kɨžɨn(i) tanɨr men*
I young=EMPH be-CON-1-CON that person-ACC know-P/F 1
'although I am young, I know him'

The INS case marker *=bile* denotes accompaniment or instrumentality. It may also conjoin elements.

(242) *meeŋ=bile baar sen be*
I-GEN=INS go-P/F you Q
'Will you go with me?'

ačam=bile ažıldaaar men
father-INS work-P/F 1
'I'll work with my father'

ii. *men tiva xüreš=bile surguul kılbastay beerimge ačam xomudaan*
I Tyvan wrestling=INS participant do-CES-CV INCH-P/F-1-DAT father-1 be.unhappy-PAST.I
'my father was unhappy with my having stopped doing Tyvan wrestling (xuresh)' (Ch 1984: 81)

iii. *kampyuter=pile bodap turar men*
computer'=INS think-CV AUX 1
'I think with a computer'

Abakan=bile Kızıldıŋ arazı
A.=INS K.-GEN distance-3
'the distance from Abakan to Kyzyl'

(243) *avazı uruunuŋ ottup kelgenin=bile tırtıp kaan*
mother-3 daughter-3-GEN wake.up-CV AUX-PAST-3.ACC-INS pull-CV AUX-PAST.I
'her$_i$ mother$_j$ learned that her$_j$ daughter$_i$ woke up' (Kunaa 1970: 39, 61)

Note that in literary Tyvan, two semantically conjoined nouns may appear juxtaposed, but behave as if they were joined by *=bile*, i.e. case marking is found only on the second of the two:

(244) *ulug očerk, reportažtarnı bižip šıdapkı deg, küštüg idegel meeŋ sagıš*
big outline report-PL-ACC write-CV AUX-CV power-ADJ hope I-GEN thought

setkilimni amıratpayn turup bergen
feeling-1-ACC pacify-NEG.CV AUX-CV BEN-PAST.I
'... it seemed I should write outlines and reports; this did not bring peace to my soul' (Sh 1995: 32)

The interrogative and deictic particle /-Il/ (historically probably from the third singular pronoun *ol*) represents a special type of bound element in Tyvan. It is most often used in interrogative sentences with interrogative pronouns and appears bound to the final element in the clause. It is unstressed, but obeys vowel harmony. It may represent a kind of quasi-copula, and is close in function to the emphatic enclitic /-DIr/ that appears in declarative sentences. In addition to interrogative sentences, this particle appears clause-finally in relative uses of the interrogative pronouns, for example, in certain aphoristic expressions.

(245) *bir šakta minut kažıl*
1 hour-LOC minute how.many-I/D
'how many minutes in an hour are there'

sende čüü barıl
you-LOC what there.is-I/D
'what do you have (on you)' (B 132)

ii. *škola bažıŋı kandigil*
school bldg-3 which-I/D
'the school building is which one?'

taraanı kažan kezeril
grain-ACC when cut-P/F-I/D
'when was it that (they) cut the grain?'

iii. *bir xonuk kaš šaktıg bolurul*
one day how.many hour-ADJ be-P/F-I/D
'how many hours are there in a day?'

bo čüül
this what-I/D
'what is this?'

iv. *böxüŋ kayı-xire sooyul*
today how.(much) cold-I/D
How cold is it today?

kımıl
who-I/D
'who is it?'

v. *öskezi seŋee kandig xamaanıl čüvel*
other-3 you-DAT what.like attitude-I/D thing-I/D
'The other (said): "No matter what your attitude" '

vi. *xat kayıın xadıırıl, čàs oon kelir*
wind from.where blow-P/F-I/D rain from.there come-P/F
'from where the wind blows, comes the rain' (B 1960: 137)

vii. *kım ür čurttaarıl, ol xöynü köör*
who long.time live-P/F-I/D s/he alot-ACC see-P/F
'he who lives a long time, sees a lot'

The most common particle in Tyvan is /-DIr/. It appears enclitic to the preceding element and adds one of two basic meanings: 1. assertive ASSRTV, or 2. evidential EVID (see 2.2.1.2.3.5 above). In some cases it is difficult to determine which of these two nuances is intended. AS mentioned above, it may attach to copulae and to inflected forms as well (iv, v).

/-DIr/ may also be viewed as a kind of quasi- or emerging copular form, as it becomes obligatory in sentences that lack verbs.

(246) i. *men-dir men*
I-ASSRTV 1
'It's me'

ii. *men artır men*
1 stay-P/F 1
'I'm staying'

men artır-dir men
1 stay-P/F-ASSRTV 1
'Look, I'm staying'

iii. *böxün sook-tır*
today cold-ASSRTV
'It's cold today'

böxün sook-tır be *(* böxün sook-)*
today cold-ASSRTV Q *(?? böxün sook-be)*
'Is it cold today?'

iv. *čoktur*
NEG.COP-ASSRTV
'There isn't any'

bardır
COP-ASSRTV
'There is/are'

v. *möngün taygaga sarlık körgendir men*
M. T.-DAT yak see-PAST.I-EVID 1
'In Mongun-Taiga I saw a yak (to my surprise)'

The interrogative particle is *be*. It appears at the end of a yes/no question which lacks an interrogative pronoun.

(247) *olurup ap bolur men be*
sit-CV SBEN-CV CAP-P/F 1 Q
'may I take a seat?' (Sh 1995: 35)

Tag-questions are formed with *ale* in Tyvan: (IP 1961: 433)

(248) *Kiziłdiŋ avtobuzu beš šakta kelir iškažił ale*
K.-GEN bus-3 5 hour-LOC come-P/F EMPH-EMPH TAG-Q
'so, the Kyzyl bus is coming at 5:00, right'.

Other emphatic particles include *inčaš, moŋ*, etc.:

(249) *sigen kezip čoraan ooldar-dir moŋ*
grass cut-CV AUX-PAST.I boy-PL-ASSRTV EMPH
'indeed the boys were going to cut hay'

There are also 'softening' or politeness forms like *iyin, aan, irgin*, and combinations thereof.

Several modal particles are commonly used in Tyvan as well. These may appear with (first and second) person marked participial forms of the lexical verb, e.g. (Isxakov & Pal'mbax 1961: 432)

(250) *kelirim čadavas* *kelirim magatčok*
come-P/F-1 possible come-P/F-1 possible
'maybe I'll come' 'maybe I'll come'

ii. *bilir iynaan*
know-P/F probably
'(s/he) probably knows'

4 Sample Texts with interlinear gloss and translation

A. Personal narrative

meeŋ adım Dolumaa.
I-GEN name-1 Dolumaa

men bir muŋ tos čüs čeden iyi čılda Iyun čeerbi törtüngen men...Kiziłga.
I one 1000 nine hundred seventy two year-LOC June 20 be.born-PAST.I 1 Kyzyl-DAT

Am Texnikumda baškılap tur men
now Technicum-LOC teacher-VSF-CV AUX 1

My name is Dolumaa. I was born June 20, 1972 in Kyzyl. Now I work as a teacher at the Technical Institute.

B. Personal narrative

meeŋ adımnı B. A. deer
I-GEN name-1-ACC B.A. say-P/F

men Kiziłga törtüngen men
I K.-DAT be.born-PAST.I 1

bodum Kizilga čurttap turar men
I K.-DAT live-CV AUX-P/F 1

sezen beš čılda törtüngen men
80 5 year-LOC be.born-PAST.I 1

My name is B. A. I was born in Kyzyl. I am living in Kyzyl. I was born in 1985.

(A. and B. recorded 1997. Kyzyl, Tyva. by G. D. S. Anderson)

C.Two Brothers Fight over a Horse
Tyvan anecdote told by A. D. Myldyk, 1997

šaanda iyi alıškı čoraan
time-3-LOC two brother go-PAST.I
Long ago there were two brothers

bir-le kattap bireezi čuŋaalaan
one-EMPH time one-3 say-PAST.I
Once, one of them said:

xaraŋannar baštarından xoy düyü čıŋŋaš
tumbleweeds-PL head-PL-3-ABL sheep wool-3 gather-CV
"Having collected (bits of) sheep's wool from the tops of tumbleweeds,

àat sadıp alır men
horse buy-CV SBEN-P/F 1
I will buy a horse."

öskezi turgaš
other-3 AUX-CV
The other brother (said):

men seeŋ àdıŋnı oorlaptar men dep čuŋaalaan
1 you-POSS horse-2-ACC steal-PERF-P/F 1 say-CV say-PAST.I
"I will steal your horse"

bireezi seeŋ arın-nüürüŋ bar be
one-3 you-POSS face-conscience-2 COP Q
The first (said): "Do you have a conscience?"

men xilinčektenip turgaš sadıp alırımga sen oorlaptar
1 struggle-CV AUX-CV buy-CV SBEN-1-DAT you steal-PERF-P/F
"When I have struggled to buy (it), you will steal (it)?"

ol čüü dep čuvel ol
it what COMP thing-I/D DISC
"What kind of thing is that?"

öskezi seŋee kandıg xamaanıl čüvel
other-3 you-DAT what.like attitude-I/D thing-I/D

The other (said): "No matter what your attitude,

dömey-le oorlaptar men
same-EMPH steal-PERF-P/F 1
I'll steal (it) all the same."

ol čok àat deeš iyi ališkinči čoyuškan deer
it not horse because.of two brothers fight-PAST.I say-P/F
So the two brothers fought over a horse that wasn't.

(C. recorded and translated by K. David Harrison)

D. "In the Blue Sky"
Tyvan popular song by A. Saržat-ool

ak-kök deerde buluttar közüy
white-blue sky-LOC cloud-PL wander-CV
In the blue sky, clouds wander,

ayaar-boydus öskerli berdi
air-nature change-CV INCH-PAST.II .3
The weather has begun to change,

a meeŋ baza setkilim
and I-POSS again mood-1
and my mood [34], once again

ayaar-boydus iškaš bürgen
air-nature like cloud over-PAST.I
like the weather, has clouded over.

amirayım saktıp olur men
beloved-1 long.for-CV AUX-P/F 1
I am longing for my beloved.

(iv. translated by K. David Harrison)

5. Selected Tyvan grammatical terms

Parts of speech	*artınčı*	participle
	at ornu	pronoun
	ayan cözü	interjection
	aytılganıŋ at ornu	demonstrative pronoun
	aytıtıgnıŋ at ornu	interrogative pronoun
	čuyaa kezekteri	parts of speech
	čüve àdı	noun
	ederinči	postposition
	evilel	conjunction
	kiliy sözü	verb
	narečiye	adverb
Cases	*adaarınıŋ padeži*	nominative case
	beerinıŋ padeži	dative case
	xamaarıštırarınıŋ padeži	accusative case
	omaarınıŋ padeži	genitive case
	uglaarınıŋ padeži	allative case
	ünerinıŋ padeži	ablative case
	turarınıŋ padeži	locative case
Sounds	*ün*	sound
	ažık ün	vowel
	ažık eves ün	consonant
Tense	*amgı üye*	present tense
	ertken üye	past tense
	kelir üye	future tense
	üye	tense
Other	*arın*	person (e.g. 1st, 2nd)
	čaŋgistiŋ sanı	singular
	dil	language
	domak	sentence
	kol sös	subject
	san	number (e.g. singular or plural)
	sös	word
	sös čoyaadılgazı	word formation (morphology)
	sös kattıžıškını	phrase?
	üžük	letter
	xöynuŋ sanı	plural

Abbreviations Used:

ABL	Ablative	ABS	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative	ADJ	Adjectival
AGE	Agentive	ALL	Allative
ASSRTV	Assertive	ATT	Attemptive
AUX	Auxiliary	BEN	Benefactive
CAP	Capabilitive	CAUS	Causative
CLOC	Cislocative	CNCL	Conciliatory
CNS	Concessive	CNT	Continuative
COLL	Collective	COMP	Complemetizer
CON	Conditional	CV	Converb
DAT	Dative	DES	Desiderative
DIM	Diminutive	DISC	Discourse marker

[34] *setkil* translates as 'mind,' 'emotion,' 'spirit,' 'thought' and 'mood', depending on context.

DL	Dual	DS	Different Subject
EMPH	Emphatic	EQU	Equative
EVID	Evidential	FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive	I/D	Interrogative/Deictic Particle
IMP	Imperative	INCH	Inchoative
INS	Instrumental	INT	Intentional
ITER	Iterative	LIM	Limited Mood
LOC	Locative	MOD	Modal
NEG	Negative	PASS	Passive
P/CP	Predicative	PERF	Perfect
PL	Plural	P/F	Present-Future /Contrastive
POSS	Possessive		
PROB	Probabilative	Q	Question Tag
REC	Reciprocal	RDPL	Reduplication
RFLXV	Reflexive	RSLTV	Resultative
SBJNCTV	Subjunctive	SBEN	Self-Benefactive
SS	Same Subject	TLOC	Translocative
UNACMPL	Unaccomplished	VSF	Verb Stem Formant
1	First Person	2	Second Person
3	Third Person		

References

Anderson, G. D. S. 1995. Diachronic Aspects of Russianisms in Siberian Turkic. In *BLS 21*, pp. 354-65. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

_____ 1998. *Xakas*. Languages of the World Materials/251. München: LINCOM-EUROPA.

_____ 1998b. Historical Aspects of Yakut (Sakha) Phonology. In *Turkic Languages* 2/2: 1-32.

_____ 1998c. On Proto-Yakut *θ. In *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* n. f. 15: 170-172.

_____ 1999. A Typology of Inflection in Auxiliary Verb Constructions: Contributions of 'Minor' Language Data. In *CLS 35: Linguistic Diversity and Linguistic Theory.*

Babushkin, G. F. 1959a. O znachenii i sintaticheskix funkcijax deeprichastij v tuvinskom jazyke. In *Uchenye Zapiski tuvinskogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta jazyka, literatury i istorii TNIIJaLI VII*: 93-104. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI.

_____ 1959b. Predvaritel'nye dannye po zapadnomu dialektu tuvinskogo jazyka. In *Uchenye Zapiski TNIIJaLI VII*: 211-16. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI.

_____ 1960. O strukture pridatochnyx predlozhenij v tuvinskom jazyke. In *Uchenye Zapiski TNIIJaLI VIII*: 127-38. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI.

_____ n.d. (1960?). Morfologicheskaja struktura xakasskix dialektov v sravnenii s dialektami Altaja-Sajanskoj gruppy tjurkskix jazykov. Unpublished-ms. Abakan: XakNIIJaLI.

Baskakov, N. A. 1958. *Altajskij jazyk*. Moscow: AN SSSR.

_____ 1965. Forma glagola na -chyx/chik, -chu/chü v khakasskom, tuvinskom i kirgizskom iazykakh. In *Voprosy tjurkologii*. Tashkent: "N" UzSSR, pp. 5-10.

_____ 1978. Forma proshedego vremeni glagola na -chyx/chu v tjurkskikh jazykakh i ee proiskhozhdenie. In Sovetskaja Tiurkologija [ST] #4, pp. 3-8.

Bergel'son, M. A. and A. A. Kibrik. 1987a-b. Sistema perekluchenija referentsii v tuvinskom jazyke. In ST #2, 16-32 (=1987a); #4, 30-45 (=1987b).

Bicheldej, K. A. 1980a. Faringalizatsija glasnykh v tuvinskikh zaimstvovanijakh iz mongol'skogo i russkogo jazykov. In *Jazyki Narodov Sibiri*, pp. 248-53. Kemerovo: KGU.

_____ 1980b. Faringalizatsija glasnykh v tuvinskom iazyke. In *Zvukovoj stroj sibriskikh jazykov*. Novosibirsk: AN SSSR SO IIFF, 39-65.

_____ 1980c. Nazalizovannye glasnye sovremennogo tuvinskogo jazyka. In *Issledovanija zvukovyx sistem sibirskix jazykov*, pp. 29-34. Novosibirsk: AN SSSR SO.

_____ 1984. Nazalizovannye glasnye v tuvinskom jazyke i ikh sootvetstvija v tjurkskikh jazykakh. In *Issledovanija zvukovyx sistem jazykov Sibiri*, pp. 35-9. Novosibirsk:AN SSSR SO.

_____ 1985. Osobennosti zvukovogo stroja jugo-vostochnogo dialekta tuvinskogo jazyka. In *Fonetika sibirskix jazykov*, pp. 25-36. Novosibirsk: AN SSSR SO.

_____ 1986. Chetyrye aspekta glasnykh tuvinskogo jazyka v potoke rechi. In *Fonetika jazykov Sibiri i sopredel'nyx regionov*, pp. 33-7. Novosibirsk: "Nauka".

_____ 1993. Tïva bižikti bolgaš šin bižilgeni sayzïradïr talazï=bile sanaldar. In *Voprosy tuvinskogo jazykoznanija*, pp. 40-49. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI.

Castrén, M. A. 1857. *Versuch einer koibalischen und karagassischen Sprachlehre*. Edited by A. Schiefner. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Chadamba, Z. B. 1974. *Todzhinskij dialekt tuvinskogo jazyka*. Kyzyl: Tuvknigizdat.

Cheremisina, M. I. 1995. Osnovnye tipy analiticheskix konstrukcij skazuemogo v tjurkskix jazykax juzhnoj Sibiri. In Cheremisina ed., pp. 3-21.

Cheremisina, M. I. ed. 1995. *Jazyki korennyx narodov Sibiri*. Novosibirsk: RAN.

Cheremisina, M. I. et al. eds. 1984. *Predikativnoe sklonenie prichastij v altajskix jazykax*. Novosibirsk: "Nauka".

Delger-Ool, A. K. 1960. Osnovnye tipy glagolnyx oborotov v tuvinskom predlozhenii. In *Uchenye Zapiski TNIIJaLI VIII*: 118-26. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI.

Doerfer, G. 1973. Bemerkungen zu den sojonischen Anlautsklusilen. In *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* XLV: 254-60.

Efremov, N. N. 1984. *Polipredikativnye predlozhenija vremeni v jakutskom jazyke*. Moscow: "Nauka".

Forsyth, J. 1992. *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gadzhieva, N. Z. 1966. Azerbaidzhanskij jazyk. In *Jazyki narodov SSSR: Tjurkskie Jazyki*, pp. 66-90. Moscow: "Nauka".

Harrison, K. David. (forthcoming-a). Tuvan reduplication and harmony. In *Berkeley Linguistics Society Proceedings*, 1999.

_____ (forthcoming-b). Harmony and underspecification in Tuvan. In *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*.

Isxakov, F. G. and A. A. Pal'mbax 1961 *Grammatika tuvinskogo jazyka*. Moscow.

Katanov, N. F. 1903. *Opyt issledovanija urjangxajskogo jazyka s ukazaniem glavnejshikh rodstvennykh otnoshenij ego k drugim jazykam tjurkskogo kornja*. Kazan'.

Krueger, John R. 1977 *Tuvan Manual: Area handbook, grammar, reader, glossary, bibliography*. Uralic and Altaic Series 126. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kunaa, A. Ch. 1970. *Prostoe predlozhenie sovremennogo tuvinskogo jazyka*. Kyzyl: Tuvknizdat.

Letjagina, N. I. and D. M. Nasilov. 1974. Passiv v tuvinskom jazyke. In ST #1, 13-24.

Letjagina, N. I. 1989. Vyrazhenie kolichestvennyx otnoshennij v tuvinskom jazyke (vzaimodejstvie jazykovyx sredstv raznyx urovnej). In *Grammaticheskie issledovanija po otdel'nym altajskim jazykam*, pp. 59-92. Leningrad: "Nauka".

Martan-Ool, M. B. 1986. Kharakteristika izoglossnogo javlenija "faringalizatsija" glasnykh v tuvinskom jazyke. In *Fonetika jazykov Sibiri i sopredel'nyx regionov*, pp. 37-40. Novosibirsk: "Nauka".

Mel'nikova, L. V. 1994. *Tofy*. Irkutsk: Vostsibknizdat.

Menges, K. H. 1955 The South Siberian Turkic Languages, I: General Characteristics of their Phonology. In Central Asiatic Journal [CAJ] 1, 107-36.

_____ 1956. SSTL II: Notes on the Samoyed Substratum. In CAJ 2, 161-75.
_____ 1958. Die süd-sibirischen Türk-Sprachen, III: Die Tuba-Sprachen Sojon und Karaγas. Zur Charakteristik einer einzelnen süd-sibirischen Gruppe. In CAJ 4, pp. 90-129.
_____ 1959. Das Sojonische und Karagassische. In J. Deny et al. eds. *Philologicae Turcicae Fundamenta* I pp. 640-70. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
Mongush, D. A. 1958. Nastojashchee zaglaznoe vremja v tuvinskom jazyke. In *Uchenye Zapiski TNIIJaLI VI*: 111-14. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI.
_____ 1959. O vremennyx formax v tuvinskom jazyke. In *Uchenye Zapiski TNIIJaLI VII:* 85-92.
_____ 1968. Ob analiticheskoj forme predikacii v tuvinskom jazyke. In *Uchenye Zapiski TNIIJaLI XIII*: 242-48. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI
_____ 1983. O sluzhebnykh funktsija slov kizhi, ulus, i chüve v tuvinskom jazyke. In *Tjurkskie jazyki Sibiri*, pp. 12-35. Novosibirsk: AN SSSR SO .
_____ 1987. O nekotoryx modeljax predlozhenij v tuvinskom jazyke, obrazovannyx pri uchastii proizvodnyx ot glagola de=/di= 'skazat'. In *Pokazateli svjazej v slozhnom predlozhenii (na materiale jazykov raznyx sistem)*, pp. 83-88. Novosibirsk: AN SSSR.
_____ 1989. O skazuemyx tuvinskogo jazyka, vyrazhajushchix modal'noe znachenie dostovernosti. In *Predlozhenie v jazykax Sibiri*, pp. 19-35. Novosibirsk: AN SSSR SO.
_____ 1993. Ob odnom tipe predlozhenija frazeologizirovannoj struktury v tuvinskom jazyke. In *Voprosy tuvinskogo jazykoznanija*, pp. 55-63. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI.
_____ 1995. Skazuemye tuvinskogo jazyka so znachenijami irreal'nosti, modal'nosti i voprositel'nosti. In Cheremisina ed., pp. 22-51.
Mongush, D. A. and K. B. Kuular 1992. *Tɨva dɨl 6-7* Kyzyl: Tyvanyng nom ündürer cheri.
Mongush, D. A. and Sh. Ch. Sat. 1967. *Sovet üede tɨva dɨldɨŋ xögžüldezi*. Kyzyl: Tyvanyng nom ündürer cheri.
Ojun, M .V. 1983. Pridatochnye opredelitel'nye predlozhenija, vvodimye sluzhebnymi slovami dep, deer, deen v tuvinskom jazyke. In *Tjurkskie Jazyki Sibiri* , pp. 46-55. Novosibirsk: AN SSSR SO.
_____ 1985. Zavisimoe opredelitel'nye predlozhenija v russkom i tuvinskom jazykax. In *Russkij jazyk v Tuve*, pp. 123-41. Kyzyl: Tuvknizdat.
Potapov, L. V. 1964. The Tuvans. In Potapov and Levin eds. *Peoples of Siberia.*, pp. 380-422. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Radloff, V. V. 1882. *Phonetik der nördlichen Türksprachen.* Leipzig.
Rassadin, V. I.1995. Problemy vozrozhdenija tofalarskogo jazyka. In *Aborigeny Sibiri*, pp. 62-3. Novosibirsk: NGU.
Sarɨkay, M. X. 1973. Svedenija o rechi tandynskix tuvincev. In *Uchenye Zapiski TNIIJaLI XVI*: 242-50. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI
Sat, Sh. Ch. 1959. Prichastie v tuvinskom jazyke. *Uchenye Zapiski TNIIJaLI VII*: 76-84. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI.
_____ 1960. *Sintakticheskie funkcii prichastij v tuvinskom jazyke*. Kyzyl: Tuvknizdat.
_____ 1973. *Formirovanie i razvitie tuvinskogo nacional'nogo literaturnogo jazyka.* Kyzyl: Tuvknizdat.
_____ 1981. Rol' sluzhebnykh slov dep/deesh v slozhnopodchinennom predlozhenii tuvinskogo jazyka. In *Padezhi i ix èkvivalenty v stroe slozhnyx predlozhenijax v jazykax narodov Sibiri*, pp. 112-15. Novosibirsk.
_____ 1983. *Amgɨ tɨva literaturlug dɨl: Sintaksis. Pedinstituttuŋ toogu-dɨl fakultedinge xergleer ööredilge nomu.* Kyzyl: Tɨvanɨŋ nom ündürer cheri. 1966: 1st ed.

_____ 1984. Foneticheski osobennosti terexol'skogo govora tuvinskogo jazyka. In *Issledovanija zvukovyx sistem jazykov Sibiri*, pp. 187-91. Novosibirsk.
Sereedar, N. Ch. 1995. Sposoby vyrazhenija znachenij vremeni v predlozhenijax s imennym skazuemym v tuvinskom jazyke. In Cheremisina ed. , 68-77.
Shamina, L. A. 1983. O modeljakh tuvinskikh slozhnykh predlozhenii s formy na =gyzhe v zavisimoj chasti. In *Tjurkskie jazyki Sibiri*, pp. 36-45. Novosibirsk: AN SSSR SO.
_____ 1987. *Vremennye polipredikativnye konstrukcii tuvinskogo jazyka.* Novosibirsk: "Nauka".
_____ 1993. Slozhnye predlozhenija v tuvinskom jazyke, vyrazhajushchie otnoshenija oboslovennosti mezhdu sobytijami. In *Voprosy tuvinskogo jazykoznanija*, pp. 63-75. Kyzyl: TNIIJaLI.
_____ 1995. Analiticheskie konstrukcii modal'no-infinitivnogo tipa v tuvinskom jazyke. In Cheremisina ed., pp. 52-67.
Shamina, L. A. and M. I. Cheremisina 1982. Prichastie na -galak (-kalak) v tuvinskom jazyke. In Ubrjatova (ed.) , pp.57-70.
Tatarintsev, B. I. 1974. *Russkie leksicheskie zaimstvovanija v sovremennom tuvinskom jazyke*. Kyzyl: Tuvknigoizdat.
_____ 1976. *Mongol'skoe jazykovoe vlijanie na tuvinskuju leksiku.* Kyzyl:TKI
_____ 1986. K voprosu o sootvetstvii tipa "faringalizatsija-pervichnaja dolgota". In *Fonetika jazykov Sibiri i sopredel'nyx regionov*, pp. 153-56. Novosibirsk: "Nauka".
Ubrjatova, E. A. and F. A. Litvin eds. 1986. *Strukturnye tipy sinteticheskix polipredikativnyx konstrukcij v jazykax raznyx sistem.* Novosibirsk: "Nauka".
Verner, G. K. 1972. Problema proiskhozhdenija faringalizatsii v tuvinskom i tofalarskom jazykakh. In ST no. 5, pp. 17-24.
Werner, H. K. 1997. *Die Ketische Sprache*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Abbreviated author citations used in text:

B	Babushkin	BK	Bergelson & Kibrik	Ch	Cheremisina
D	Delger-ool	E	Efremov	IP	Isxakov & Pal'mbax
K	Kunaa	L	Letjagina	M	Mongush
Sh	Shamina	UL	Ubrjatova & Litvin		